

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 191 341

HE 011 815

AUTHOR Haynes, Leonard L., III, Ed.
TITLE An Analysis of the Arkansas-Georgia Statewide Desegregation Plans.
INSTITUTION Institute for Services to Education, Inc., Washington, D.C.
SPONS AGENCY Ford Foundation, New York, N.Y.
PUB DATE 79
NOTE 185p.
AVAILABLE FROM Institute for Services to Education, 2001 S Street, NW, Washington, DC 20009

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC08 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Black Colleges; *College Desegregation; College Faculty; College Students; *Compliance (Legal); Desegregation Methods; *Desegregation Plans; Educational History; Evaluation Criteria; Faculty Integration; Federal Legislation; Federal Regulation; Higher Education; Program Evaluation; School Personnel; *State Action; Statewide Planning

IDENTIFIERS Adams v Richardson; *Arkansas; *Georgia; United States (South)

ABSTRACT

The state desegregation plans of Arkansas and Georgia are considered in terms of the legal mandates, the history of higher education in the two states, methodological approaches of the plans, implementing the plans, and submission of plans and monitoring. Implementation efforts included disestablishment of the structure of the dual system, desegregation of student enrollment, and desegregation of faculty, administrative staff, nonacademic personnel, and governing boards. Commitments to achieve the goals, a timetable for implementation of the process, and compliance with federal criteria are examined. The Adams vs. Richardson case as a legal mandate, student and staff enrollment projections, and developments at specific black colleges in Georgia are also considered. (SW)

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE
ARKANSAS - GEORGIA STATEWIDE
DESEGREGATION PLANS

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Washington, D.C.

1979

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The Institute for Services to Education

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Financial support for this project was provided by the Ford Foundation.

The views expressed in this book should not be attributed to the Institute's Board of Directors or to the Foundation funding the unit that produced this document.

Acknowledgements

The editor would like to extend sincere appreciation and thanks to the analysts, Drs. Henry Cobb and Robert Holmes, for their work in preparing this document. Secondly, thanks are extended to Drs. Albert Berrian and Mary Carter Williams for their support, comments, and constructive criticisms; to Kathryn Naimo Izon and her staff for preparation of this document; and to Mrs. Debrah Johnson for her expert typing and layout assistance.

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FOREWORD

This volume went to press at a time when the Board of Regents of the Georgia higher education system had decided not to merge predominantly black Albany State College with predominantly white Albany Junior College. According to the Higher Education Daily of December 15, 1978, Civil Rights Director David Tatel would have found such a merger acceptable. Indeed, the closing weeks of 1978 witnessed a growing resistance by blacks and whites to merger, despite insistence in the press that public and legislative backing be given to state boards "to act boldly to eliminate duplication and waste, even if it means closing or mergers at the expense of Institutional pride. (See the Baltimore Sun editorials during December, 1978, entitled "The Higher Education Mess".) The point of the matter is that bold action too often takes place within the framework of what Harold Howe describes (in referring to City University of New York's resistance to the idea of merger with State University of New York) as "feelings and loyalties that are politically significant."

As the studies presented here indicate, the desegregation of public higher education institutions represents an emotionally charged issue, and the process is often fraught with behavior patterns that are on the surface, at least, irrational. The criteria are clear -- even on the point of duplication. Program syntheses, mergers, and the like are not to take place against the historically black institutions (HBI's). Rather, these institutions are to be enhanced, regardless of the desegregation strategies adopted. It seems rather useless, therefore, to infer that the problem can be solved by eliminating the HBI's, one of which was euphemistically referred to in The Sun (mentioned above) as a striking example of incoherent development (December 21, 1978). Enhancement of the Coppin States, and the exercise of the kind of objectivity that accrues from the

use of enrollment projections, manpower forecasts, public needs of a personal, cultural and service nature, and so forth, represent appropriate bases for planning and action. Finally, as one considers duplication (which can only be determined by comparing programs, the activities of which have been measured against institutional mission, goals and instructional objectives), it would be well to consider simultaneously the relationship between percentage of state income spent on public higher education and per capita state income.

Implicit in the remarks above is a belief that statewide planning processes should be tightened so that strategies, recommendations, and action plans coming out of them will have a rational basis. As near as possible, activities slated for implementation must grow out of hard data, dispassionate analyses of economic conditions, the public's social and personal needs, and analytically derived criteria. This will guarantee a proper basis for effecting social change and subsequent racial progress.

Albert H. Berrian, President
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INTRODUCTION

The most important legal actions to affect the educational hopes and aspirations of blacks and other minorities since the Brown decisions of the mid-50's originate in the decisions emerging from the Adams case. Now a mandate, the Adams case is especially important to the interests of black Americans because it seeks to: (1) increase access to public higher education in those states that formerly operated dual systems of higher education; and (2) formulate policies to insure that the participation and completion rates for blacks increase throughout public higher education. The Adams case was filed by the NAACP Legal Defense Fund (LDF) because HEW was not enforcing Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act in those states operating dual systems of higher education. Title VI prohibits federal support to public educational institutions that practice segregation and discrimination.¹

Although the federal courts had managed to facilitate equitable solutions in implementing public school desegregation, the courts experienced less success in fashioning equitable solutions for higher education. While some of the courts' difficulties in working with higher education desegregation can be attributed to the recalcitrant behavior of state governments, most of the problems result from complexities inherent in determining higher education policies and practices. For example, participation in higher education is not compulsory, as it is in public schools. As a result, dictates established in Brown, which subsequently led to the development of racial percentages to desegregate public schools, are not applicable to higher education. The Adams case thus marks the first attempt to utilize principles established in the Brown cases (on the desegregation of public education) in the effort to desegregate higher education.

At the beginning of the case, LDF noted that HEW had failed to enforce Title VI in ten states (Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, and Virginia). The states cited were not the only ones known to be violating Title VI at the time. Rather, they were ones in which federal officials (HEW) had completed field investigations and site visits detailing violations of Title VI.

The filing of the Adams case, as the Southern Education Foundation indicated, dispelled the notion that the nation's public colleges and universities were desegregated long ago.² Perhaps more importantly, this action revealed that predominantly white institutions in America had neither been responsive nor committed to providing sufficient access to black Americans wishing to enter higher education or to benefit from a comprehensive array of higher education opportunities.

Overview

After HEW determined in 1969 that the ten states mentioned above were violating Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act by virtue of operating dual systems of public higher education, HEW wrote the ten states asking them to outline plans for desegregating those systems. But, due to HEW's inexperience in dealing with the desegregation issue as applied to higher education, the department moved cautiously toward obtaining compliance from defaulting states. The statutory enforcement requirements of Title VI called for HEW to seek voluntary compliance first, in hopes that states would respond to its request in good faith. In the initial letters transmitted to the ten states, HEW hoped that it would not have to commence administrative or judicial proceedings against the defaulting states under Title VI.

In October of 1970, LDF, through the Washington, D.C. law firm of Rauh, Silard and Lichman, filed a class action suit in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia (Judge John H. Pratt presiding) against the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The suit was filed on behalf

of two groups of plaintiffs. The first consisted of students attending public schools and colleges that had, since the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, segregated and discriminated on the basis of race in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment and yet had continued to receive federal financial assistance, contrary to Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The second group consisted of citizens and federal taxpayers whose taxes were being expended by the defendant, in the form of grants to public schools and colleges that segregated and discriminated on the basis of race. Thus, both public schools and colleges were included in the filing of the suit.

During the adjudication, LDF cited HEW's unsuccessful attempts to obtain acceptable desegregation plans from the ten states it had found in violation of Title VI. The complaint alleged that:

HEW had thus knowingly failed, and continues to fail, to withhold federal funds from public colleges and universities which segregate and discriminate on the grounds of race. HEW has thus declined to exercise its jurisdiction under Title VI with respect to institutions of higher education ...

LDF asked the court for declaratory relief by compelling HEW to enforce Title VI by obtaining adequate desegregation plans from the states or by terminating federal funds to the education systems of those states practicing and maintaining racial discrimination and segregation. On the other side, HEW argued that the suit against it should be dismissed on grounds that the department had the legal right to practice discretion in deciding whether action would be taken against defaulting states. HEW also pointed out that it had discretion in determining the nature of the action to be taken against defaulting states, should the need arise to do so.

After hearing arguments and reviewing evidence, Judge Pratt issued an opinion on November 16, 1972, noting that because HEW had not properly fulfilled its obligations

under Title VI, vestiges of segregation and discrimination existing in the Adams states had not been eliminated in higher education. The court's opinion was based upon the following findings of fact:

(1) That five states -- Louisiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma, North Carolina and Florida -- ignored HEW's request for desegregation plans.

(2) That five other states -- Arkansas, Georgia, Maryland, Pennsylvania and Virginia -- had submitted plans that were unacceptable, and HEW had failed to formally comment on these submissions.

(3) That HEW had attempted to justify its failure to enforce the law on grounds that: (a) voluntary compliance was being sought; (b) complex problems accompanied desegregation of statewide systems; and (c) the standard of desegregation established by the Supreme Court did not apply to public higher education.

(4) That HEW had continued to send federal funds to defaulting states for the benefit of their higher education systems.

On February 16, 1973, Judge Pratt granted LDF declaratory and injunctive relief for each separate cause of action in the complaint. In granting relief for the section of the suit pertaining to higher education, the court ordered HEW either to obtain compliance from the ten states by receiving acceptable desegregation plans or to begin enforcing Title VI by terminating funds to states that failed to develop and submit acceptable desegregation plans. The Court also required HEW to submit to LDF progress reports on development and completion of state desegregation plans.

Because of the implications of the Adams case for the survival of public black colleges, the National Association for Equal Opportunity (NAFEO), an organization supportive of historically black colleges, filed an Amicus brief with the appeals

court after HEW appealed Pratt's decision. NAFEO's brief opposed the contentions made by LDF and HEW and requested that the suit be dismissed. Additionally, NAFEO objected to the implications posed by the litigation that public black colleges were practicing segregation and discrimination and argued that desegregation should be used to elevate black colleges in the interest of developing authentic educational pluralism.

Although the appeals court on June 12, 1973, agreed with the lower court's conclusion that HEW was derelict in carrying out its responsibilities under Title VI in the field of higher education, the court acknowledged that higher education did not lend itself readily to solutions adopted for public school desegregation:

The problem of integrating higher education must be dealt with on a statewide rather than a school-by-school basis. Perhaps the most serious problem in this area is the lack of statewide planning to provide more and better trained minority group doctors, lawyers, engineers, and other professionals. A predicate for minority access to quality postgraduate programs is a viable, coordinated statewide higher education policy that takes into account the special problems of minority students and black colleges. As Amicus (NAFEO) points out, these black institutions currently fulfill a crucial need and will continue to play an important role in black higher education.

In modifying the order affecting higher education, the appeals court decided that HEW should seek new desegregation plans from the Adams states. The Court, however, insisted that

if HEW did not receive acceptable plans for desegregating state systems of higher education, it was to commence enforcement proceedings against defaulting states.

HEW did not have uniform guidelines for states to follow in preparing their desegregation plans for higher education during the early stages of the Adams litigation. Rather, HEW tried to deal with the planning process on a state-by-state basis. Although HEW adopted an individualized approach, the department, through its Office for Civil Rights (OCR), formulated a set of general requirements for states to follow in developing their desegregation plans. These requirements later were included in an OCR publication entitled, "Basic Components of State-Wide Higher Education Desegregation Plans".

The objective of HEW's initial requirements was to provide states with a guide that would overhaul their higher education systems so that a student's institutional choice would be based on merit rather than on racial criteria. HEW felt that unless this objective served as the underlying principle of the planning process, a state would not implement system-wide desegregation.

During the summer and early fall of 1973, HEW began analyzing state desegregation plans it had received prior to June, 1973. All of the states, except Louisiana, had filed a plan, whereupon, HEW directed the Department of Justice to take legal action against Louisiana.³

In brief, HEW's analyses of the desegregation plans were designed to provide an assessment as to whether the plans were consistent with the department's objectives. If the plans were found deficient, HEW presumed that it would be able to help the states bring their plans up to par. HEW stressed that this procedure for analysis and follow-up would lead to the development of acceptable plans, as required by the appeals court decision.

HEW's review of the plans during the summer of 1973 also involved meetings with black college representatives, LDF, and higher education officials from affected states. A more constructive set of guiding principles was fashioned for states

to follow in preparing their plans. Summarized here, these principles were included in the initial evaluation and progress letters mailed by HEW to the states on November 10, 1973:

- (1) That individual institutions cannot act alone to significantly affect desegregation; rather, desegregation requires an effective statewide approach.
- (2) That blacks must have input into the state planning process for desegregation.
- (3) That the concept of free choice must guide plan development.
- (4) That desegregation of a statewide system not place a disproportionate burden of implementation upon black students, faculties, or institutions.
- (5) That steps should be taken to upgrade predominantly black institutions so they can become viable, full partners in the states' higher education system.

Following the November, 1973 HEW communication, the Adams states were given an opportunity to revise their plans. By June 1, 1974, HEW announced acceptance of eight of the nine plans. Louisiana did not submit a plan, and HEW accepted Mississippi's plan for desegregating its four-year institutions while rejecting the plan for its two-year colleges. Consequently, both Louisiana and Mississippi were referred to the Justice Department for legal action.

In August, 1975, LDF filed a motion for further relief in the court of Judge Pratt, because it felt that HEW had not fulfilled the requirements of the appeals court decision. LDF's analysis noted, for example, that the eight desegregation plans accepted by HEW were not in keeping with directives of the court and that the department had done very little to obtain from the states specific commitments within their desegregation plans. As a result of its evaluation, LDF asked the court for the following relief:

- (1) That no later than November 1, 1975, HEW notify the eight states that its approval of their higher education desegregation plans be revoked.
- (2) That states promptly submit new plans complying with the district court and court of appeals decisions.
- (3) That HEW issue uniform requirements for plan drafting, compiling statistical data and other materials relevant to desegregation, no later than November 15, 1975.
- (4) That HEW appraise new plans, if acceptable, by February 1, 1976.

To insure that its request would be carried out, LDF recommended that the court urge HEW to use the following criteria in establishing requirements for the new plans:

- (1) That statewide plans must indicate that desegregation will result in a greater proportion of black students on white campuses.
- (2) That statewide plans must indicate that desegregation will increase the number of black faculty on white campuses.
- (3) That statewide plans must increase the number of blacks on governing boards.
- (4) That statewide plans must indicate how desegregation will enhance the role of black colleges in a statewide system.
- (5) That there must be built into the planning process an ongoing reporting and monitoring mechanism to evaluate steps taken by the states to implement their plans.

Although HEW subsequently admitted that it had accepted plans that were in fact unacceptable, HEW opposed LDF's request

for relief. HEW's initial opposition came because of the department's claim that the procedures it followed in accepting and monitoring the eight plans were consistent with court decisions. Further, HEW added that LDF's motion was improper, because allegations had not been made within a reasonable time and, thus, should have been barred by the court.

While the district court prepared to hold hearings on LDF's request for further relief, several major developments having a bearing on the case occurred. In December, 1975, the Office of Civil Rights notified the state of Maryland (HEW had accepted its desegregation plan) that HEW would begin enforcement proceedings against the state under Title VI. OCR's notification claimed that Maryland had failed to adequately implement its statewide desegregation plan for higher education.⁴ After being notified of OCR's action, Maryland brought suit against HEW in United States District Court in Baltimore and obtained an injunction restraining HEW from initiating administrative proceedings. In issuing the injunction, the court stated that: (1) HEW had not acted in good faith to obtain voluntary compliance; and (2) the department had failed to evaluate violations on a program-by-program basis.

In March, 1976, NAFEO filed an annexed amicus brief in Judge Pratt's court opposing LDF's request for relief. NAFEO's brief opposed LDF's contention that compliance with Title VI required assimilation of black colleges into predominantly white institutions and argued that LDF's concerns with the elimination of the dual system was contrary to a state's prerogative to support and maintain "special purpose" institutions of higher education. The entry of NAFEO's brief reinforced the claim that although LDF was recognized as a champion of civil rights, it could not serve as a spokesman for or represent the interest of black colleges.

In a separate development, Pennsylvania chose to intervene as party defendant in the Adams case in April, 1976. Pennsylvania entered the case because it felt that HEW's defense was not being conducted in Pennsylvania's best interest and that the state would be unable to implement a desegregation plan that might be issued from the court for all the Adams states.

The New Adams Order

On January 17, 1977, Judge Pratt, presiding in the Adams case, held a hearing on LDF's Motion for Further Relief and granted LDF's relief with respect to the six state systems (Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Virginia). The relief required HEW to prepare new guidelines for the six states to follow in redeveloping their statewide desegregation plans to be submitted for approval.⁵

The court indicated HEW's new guidelines should include objectives, timetables, and specific steps outlining implementation. To facilitate the development of the guidelines, the court ordered the plaintiff and defendant to cooperate in developing new specified requirements for desegregation plans and a timetable for their submission. The order also indicated that HEW would not be allowed to threaten states with enforcement proceedings under Title VI, if the states prepared and submitted their plans within specified time frames.

Although deadlines contained in LDF's motion had long since passed, the response of Judge Pratt was to set a deadline of April 1, 1977, for HEW to complete the new guidelines. In setting the deadline, the court incorporated the recommendations of LDF for HEW to follow:

- (1) Increase minority presence at predominantly white institutions by admitting a larger number of black students and by providing services aimed at retention.
- (2) Enhance predominantly black institutions in terms of facilities and resources that are provided and insure that programs offered are of high quality.
- (3) Articulate how a significant percentage of other-race faculty will be provided both for predominantly white and predominantly black institutions.
- (4) Increase the black presence on governing boards.

- (5) Review institutional programs and end duplication.
- (6) Develop reporting and monitoring mechanisms to evaluate progress in the implementation of the plan.

To expedite the court's order, HEW and LDF met during the ensuing weeks. Neither LDF nor HEW could reach agreement, however, as to how HEW could best accomplish the development of new desegregation guidelines. Part of the reason for this was attributable to actions taken by the new Secretary of HEW, Joseph Califano, who requested and was given additional time from the court to review the Adams litigation.

On April 1, 1977, Judge Pratt issued the supplemental order, or final decision, in the Adams case. The order directed HEW to notify Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, Oklahoma and Virginia that their plans had not complied with Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and gave HEW ninety days to transmit final guidelines for the desegregation plan to the six states, LDF, and the court.

The court directed HEW to require each state to submit a revised desegregation plan after receipt of the guidelines. Upon receipt of the plans, HEW would then notify the states as to whether their plans were acceptable. Along with issuance of the order, Judge Pratt released a letter submitted by NAFEO, filed on March 3, 1977, to serve as a policy guide to assist Judge Pratt in preparing the final decision in response to LDF's motion for further relief.

On July 5, 1977, Judge Pratt released criteria prepared by HEW in response to the order of April entitled "Criteria Specifying the Ingredients of Acceptable Plans to Desegregate State Systems of Public Higher Education." These criteria have since undergone two revisions, the latest coming on February 15, 1978. HEW's criteria reflect its effort to be responsive to the court's concerns and the objectives of the Adams litigation, and are structured to insure that new plans will address the following concerns:

- (1) Disestablishment of the structure that has kept the dual system of higher education in place.
- (2) Desegregation of student enrollment on a statewide basis to maximize access and completion for black students at all levels.
- (3) Desegregation of faculty, administrative staffs, non-academic personnel, and governing boards.
- (4) Acceptance by the states of a monitoring process designed to ensure that progress will be made toward stated goals and objectives.

Additionally, HEW maintains that the statewide desegregation plans will not be deemed acceptable unless they take into account the special educational needs of blacks and black colleges. Furthermore, the document emphasizes, in keeping with the court's order, that black colleges not bear a disproportionate responsibility for implementing a state's desegregation plan.

Response of The Adams States

By mid-fall 1977, the six states affected by the court order (Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, Oklahoma, and Virginia) had prepared statewide desegregation plans under the new criteria for HEW's approval. After completing its review, HEW announced during the first eight months of 1978 that it had accepted the Arkansas (examined in this document) and Oklahoma statewide plans, while accepting provisionally the other four. The states not afforded full acceptance were given additional time to complete their plans because they contained deficiencies, especially with respect to those parts of the criteria requiring the state to strengthen and enhance their public black colleges.

As this document goes to press, the levels of progress reached by the other four states are as follows:

(1) Florida—HEW's Office for Civil Rights (OCR) is reviewing the program duplication study conducted by the state which focuses on Florida State, Florida A&M (historically black) and the University of Florida. Full acceptance of Florida's plan will not be rewarded if the study does not withstand OCR's examination.

(2) Georgia—HEW has rejected that part of the Georgia plan focusing on the merger of Albany State and Albany Junior College. (The Georgia desegregation statewide plan is the subject of this analysis.)

(3) North Carolina—OCR is reviewing the program duplication study conducted by the state, which focuses on the sixteen institutions (including the five historically black colleges) of the university system. Full acceptance of North Carolina's plan will not be rewarded if the study does not withstand OCR's examination.

(4) Virginia—OCR rejected the state's program duplication study, which stated that there was no unnecessary duplication of programs at predominantly white Old Dominion University and historically black Norfolk State College, both located in Norfolk, Virginia. The state has been given additional time to submit an acceptable plan.

If the states do not submit acceptable desegregation plans, HEW will initiate enforcement proceedings against the defaulting states. Of course, it is not unlikely that the noncompliant states may refuse to comply and engage HEW in litigation (as in the case of Maryland) as a course of action.

Adams: The Present Reaction

The reactions to the latest decisions in this long process have been mixed. Black educators generally feel, for example, that

the new guidelines, if followed by the states, constitute a great stride towards achieving parity and equity for blacks in public higher education. On the other hand, state officials, especially in the affected states, have indicated their displeasure at being dictated to by federal officials at a time when higher education is contracting, and state resources are becoming scarce. Federal officials are concerned that states make every effort to implement the new guidelines and meet the objectives of the litigation. The displeasure expressed by states, many fear, may result in lack of commitment by the states to meet the federal test (i.e., HEW's criteria), thereby inhibiting and stifling progress toward the equitable implementation of the desegregation mandate.

Although HEW and the Adams states are now attempting to comply with the latest Order, questions still remain as to whether policies guiding the planning processes, in fact, reflect a commitment to equity and parity for blacks and other minorities. There is the question of "turf" and historically guaranteed interests. In short, the planning processes are highly politicized. New programs seldom follow needs-based analyses and manpower directions; rather, they represent palliatives and holding actions.

While progress has been made by the Adams states since April 1, 1977, the task of achieving equal opportunity remains unfinished. Much more needs to be done in developing meaningful and constructive plans that reflect sound educational decision-making and meet objectives of the litigation. Public comment from the states about the plans submitted by the Adams states to HEW's Office for Civil Rights (OCR) suggests, for example, that current attempts made to strengthen and enhance black institutions may be based more on social and political responses than on the development of new programs growing out of needs-based analyses and other research-oriented findings.

HEW is not, of course, required to demand plans that reflect the exercise of sound planning and academic decision-making. Rather, HEW's responsibility under the court order is to enforce Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Enhancement efforts should, nevertheless, evolve from rational bases. There are ways of getting at the development of new programs that

would avoid struggle over "turf". The drawing up of industry-occupation matrices by local labor departments would help in the derivation of occupational projections, to which programs can be addressed. In this way, the civilian institutional population over 16 can be planned for. In addition, states could do better in their efforts to strengthen and enhance their public black colleges by providing these institutions with post-baccalaureate programs that focus on societal problem-solving, urban administration, health-related problems, and human resource development. Further, the Adams states could also assist black land-grant colleges in particular to further develop their historical mission and role—for example, to assume greater public service and basic research responsibilities. These considerations are the kind demanded by the rigor of comprehensive academic planning, and ones that make the intended outcomes of the desegregation process a reality.

The implications of the requirements for desegregation for the other Adams states (and even non-Adams) are clear. Each of the Adams states will, after completing its respective court activities, be required by HEW to comply with the criteria established under Judge Pratt's order. In addition, those states which once practiced de jure segregation in higher education, but which are not under the court order, will also be affected by the new criteria. If HEW determines that systemwide segregation exists in these states, they, too, will be required to submit desegregation plans according to the criteria.⁶

The Purpose of State Plan Analysis

Since its beginning, the work of the Desegregation Policy Studies Unit (Division of Research and Evaluation) of the Institute for Services to Education (ISE) in Washington has focused on analyzing and explaining issues and problems associated with the implementation of the Adams mandate. As a result of this work, the Unit has been able to keep education policy-makers abreast of the progress being made in implementing the Adams mandate.

The critical nature of the desegregation issue suggests the necessity for preparing a series of documents that examine

the desegregation mandate and the associated planning processes within a framework suitable for examination by persons concerned with achieving parity and equality for blacks and other minorities in higher education. Specifically, there is a need for a series of documents that (1) examine the desegregation planning processes state-by-state, and (2) place them within a policy perspective, giving special attention to the implications of each plan for blacks and historically black colleges. In response to these crucial needs, the Desegregation Policy Studies Unit of ISE is now initiating a series of policy studies designed to examine, interpret, and explain the statewide desegregation plans produced by the Adams states under the 1977 court order.

Presently, what we know about the promulgation of statewide desegregation plans is limited to the volumes produced by the Adams court, HEW, and the noncompliant states since 1969. To facilitate a more detailed examination of the planning process requires a sequential organization of concepts and data in an analytic scheme or model that: (1) describes the interactive processes which have led to the promulgation of the 1978 desegregation plans by the Adams states affected by the 1977 court order; and (2) provides a standard or example by which statewide plans can be categorized and compared. Moreover, because much of the desegregation process is influenced and controlled by political decisions, and since data (e.g., statewide plans) are available for examining propositions about this condition, what is also required is an analytic scheme that can unite these components for interpretation and explanation.

One of the best analytic schemes that can be utilized to address the requirements stated above in examining the desegregation planning process in higher education is systems analysis. Developed by political theorists (e.g., David Easton) to explain the operation of political science concepts, political system analysis purports to examine and describe any set or system by variables, regardless of the degree of interrelationship among them.⁷ The only question of importance about a set selected as a system to be analyzed is whether the set constitutes an interesting one,⁸ as in the case of statewide desegregation plans.⁹

The framework utilized in this series of analyses was devised by modifying the work which went into the development of the political systems model. The adaptation of systems analysis to the examination of the statewide desegregation plans enabled the analysts to, in effect, develop a framework specifically designed to describe the evolution of the plans.

Specifically, the framework (see Figure 1) utilized in these analyses attempts to describe the process which has led to the development of the Arkansas and Georgia statewide desegregation plans. The operational tenets and key conceptual indicators of the framework used in this examination are described and defined below:

Social Scene - the environment (e.g., nature of the state's racial views, the organization of the state's higher education system) in which the desegregation planning process takes place.

Inputs - the interaction of demands and supports of organizational and institutional bodies which influence desegregation decision-making.

Conversion Process - the interaction of inputs that lead to the development and refinement of desegregation plans. This is a key conceptual element.

Outputs - the decisions and actions of policy-makers (state officials) and those who influence policy (e.g., citizens' action groups) through which one is able to trace out the consequences of planning in response to the Adams mandate.¹⁰

Feedback - the flow of information back to policy-makers (HEW) which shows the effects of the outputs (plans) moving directly back through the social scene. This element is the most important indicator of the framework, because the presence or absence of feedback enables policy-makers to either act or react (create from new inputs) to what the situation requires

Social Scene

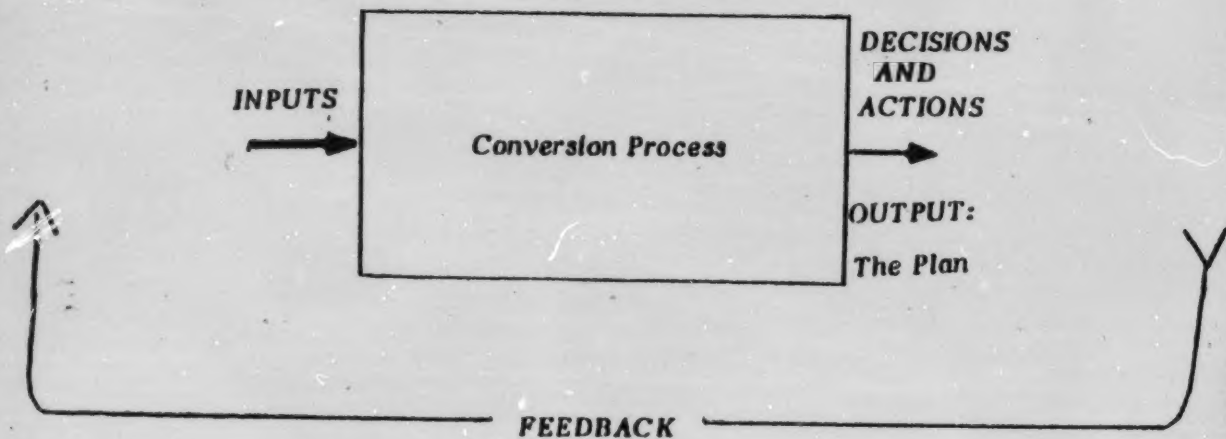


FIGURE 1'

Conceptual Framework

(e.g., if the plans are deemed inadequate, then HEW will commence enforcement proceedings against the states).¹¹

The use of a model, especially one derived from modifying a framework utilized by political theorists to examine state desegregation plans, has certain limitations that must be acknowledged. For example, the framework employed for this series of analyses does not possess the capacity to completely explain the myriad nuances and relationships that occur in the policy process governing desegregation planning. Secondly, the use of a model as a means of explaining statewide desegregation plans carries the key limitation of all analytical frameworks; that is, the difficulty of explaining reality because, by definition, models simplify reality.

Notwithstanding the limitations of models for analyzing, explaining, and interpreting phenomena, the use of a framework in this instance is based on the assumption that it enhances the reader's ability to compare, generalize, and draw inferences from one statewide plan to another. Consequently, the use of a framework to examine and describe the statewide plans by the analysts constitutes a strength of the analysis as opposed to a weakness.

The analysis series begins by focusing on the desegregation plans submitted by Arkansas and Georgia. Although both states are members of the original "Adams Ten" and have been considered moderate on racial issues,¹² their approaches to the preparation of a desegregation plan and the elimination of the dual system of higher education have been very different.

Arkansas' system of higher education, for example, is not as developed as Georgia's; moreover, the control of higher education in this state, unlike in Georgia, does not reside in one central body. Rather, there are several major participants (e.g., the governor and the legislature) interacting in the decision-making process guiding the state's response to the desegregation mandate. On the other hand, Georgia's system of higher education, by constitutional mandate, is controlled by one central body, the Board of Regents. Additionally, whereas Arkansas has not experienced major conflicts in preparing

its plan, Georgia's every effort in the planning process has been marked by recurrent conflict and controversy. Thus, while both states are required to respond to the same demand, their approaches in fashioning a desegregation plan, and even their commitment to a plan, have not been the same. The fact that no two Adams states' systems of higher education are exactly alike is a condition that has often been overlooked by observers of the educational scene.

By examining the response of Arkansas and Georgia to the desegregation mandate, it becomes possible to compare and contrast the decisions which have led to the promulgation of their respective statewide plans. Additionally, because this examination is conducted by utilizing an analytic framework,¹³ it is possible to better ascertain the extent to which the major actors (i.e., federal and state agencies, institutions) of the desegregation process have committed themselves to realizing the intended outcomes of the Adams litigation.

Finally, in developing these analyses, an assumption was made: that events might overtake the possibility of examining all aspects of developments in the planning process of desegregation. This assumption is based on the fact that the desegregation process is ongoing and will in all probability remain a very live issue beyond the year 1982-83.

In summary, this analysis attempts to fill an important informational vacuum, as well as to provide a descriptive summary of the responses of Arkansas and Georgia to the Adams mandate. Because of the historic difficulties in ending segregation and eliminating all forms of discrimination, every effort that can foster social justice to remedy the ills of the past must be undertaken. It is hoped that this document will represent such an effort as it attempts to assist those persons who are concerned that the outcome of the desegregation process achieve more and better higher education for blacks in particular, and socioeconomically disadvantaged Americans in general.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 See Leonard L. Haynes III, A Critical Analysis of The Adams Case: A Source Book. Washington, D.C., Institute for Services to Education, 1978.

- 2 See "Ending Discrimination in Higher Education: A Report From Ten States" Southern Education Foundation, (Atlanta, Georgia), November 1974), p.7.

- 3 The Louisiana case remains to be adjudicated. See U.S. vs. Louisiana 543 F 2d, 1125, 1976.

- 4 See HEW vs. Maryland, 411 F. Supp. 542 (District Court of Maryland, 1976).

- 5 Three of the states omitted from the order (Louisiana, Maryland and Mississippi) are involved in pending litigation, while the other (Pennsylvania), because of special unresolved factual issues, chose to negotiate an out-of-court settlement.

- 6 HEW has indicated it will conduct site reviews to determine if the vestiges of the dual system exist in Alabama, Delaware, Kentucky, Missouri, Ohio, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and West Virginia. As this document goes to press, site reviews have been completed in Alabama, Delaware, and Texas.

- 7 See David Easton, A Framework For Political Analysis, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965.

- 8 See Frederick Wirt and Michael Kirst, The Political Web of American Schools Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1972. Wirt and Kirst utilize political systems

theory to analyze and describe the political aspects of American education.

- 9 Ibid. David Easton acknowledges, for example, that the viability of the political system model is not entirely new as other scholars have worked on the development of similar models. (e.g., See Harold Laswell's Who Gets What, When, How, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1936.)
- 10 Outputs are distinguished from outcomes as outcomes are the consequences of outputs that are produced and carried through to the end. (i.e., the implementation of acceptable desegregation plans).
- 11 The analysts view as feedback whether state desegregation plans meet HEW's criteria and the objectives of the litigation. In order to facilitate the completion of this part of the examination, the analysts converted HEW's new criteria into twenty-four questions. These questions were then placed into three categories: (a) eradication of the dual system; (b) degrees of institutional student mix; and (c) degrees of institutional faculty, administration, staff and governing board mix. The questions appear in the Appendices of both analyses.
- 12 Arkansas led the South, for instance, in desegregating the public schools when Central High School in Little Rock enrolled blacks in 1957. In 1961, Georgia led the deep south in opening the doors to blacks in higher education by admitting blacks to the University of Georgia.
- 13 The framework utilized was further modified by the analysts. This permitted the analysts to better examine the unique features of the higher educational systems in their respective states.

**A PLAN FOR THE DESEGREGATION OF PUBLIC
HIGHER EDUCATION IN ARKANSAS:
AN ANALYSIS**

by

Henry E. Cobb

BACKGROUND

A Brief History of the Plan

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits the expenditure of federal funds to support institutions and programs operating in violation of the Act's antidiscriminatory provisions. While the gap between the law and the practice was soon and easily detected, it was not so easily closed. By 1969 the failure of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to enforce Title VI in higher education was well-known and widespread. Ten states had been identified as not in compliance because of their failure to eradicate dual systems of higher education. Arkansas was one of those ten states.

In January, 1969, Governor Winthrop Rockefeller was advised that Arkansas and nine other states were operating segregated systems of higher education in violation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This notification of the findings of the U.S. Office of Civil Rights (OCR) began a chain of actions and reactions that led haltingly but rather unerringly to the Arkansas plan for the desegregation of public higher education in the state. Several months after the January, 1969 notice to Governor Rockefeller, the Arkansas officials completed and submitted a plan for the elimination of the dual system of higher education then maintained by the state.¹

Between October, 1969 and Spring, 1973, when Arkansas received its next communication from OCR, action on Title VI enforcement was largely played out on the national stage. The dissatisfaction with HEW's handling of Title VI, especially the

fund-withholding provisions, and public frustration resulting from HEW's "do nothing" policy were crystallized in the charges brought against HEW by the Legal Defense Fund (LDF) in the U.S. District Court of the District of Columbia. In October 1970, almost exactly one year after the submission of the initial Arkansas plan, John Herbers, in a "special" to The New York Times, dramatically brought to public attention the charge, "HEW DEFAULT ON INTEGRATION CHARGED IN SUIT". The descriptive title continued, "Civil Rights Forces Accuse U.S. of Laxity in the Use of School Funds Cutoff" Under the dateline Washington, October 19, Herbers wrote:

Civil rights forces filed a law suit today charging the Department of Health, Education and Welfare with 'general and calculated default' in its enforcement of a law that forbids racial discrimination in the use of federal education funds.

The suit, sponsored by the Legal Defense Education Fund, and filed in Federal District Court here, asked that the court substantiate the charge and issue an injunction requiring stronger enforcement.²

Pertinently, the Herbers "special" also noted that LDF had filed a class action suit; that the government's action in regard to higher education only was challenged; that, among others, Arkansas was one of the offending states; and that although Title VI had been described as the "atomic bomb" in the Civil Rights arsenal, it had not been fully activated against colleges, nor had the special homing qualities (which allowed Title VI to go wherever federal funds were located) been allowed to become fully operational.³

The litigation precipitated by LDF's action came before the district court under the caption Adams v Richardson. Judge John H. Pratt was the presiding judge. The plaintiffs asked

the court to find that HEW had failed to enforce Title VI and to order the Department to terminate the movement of federal funds to the ten states, including Arkansas, named in the complaint. In November, 1972, Judge Pratt issued an opinion which in effect affirmed the allegation that HEW had not only failed to take enforcement action against any of the offending states or to refer the matter to the Department of Justice, but had also failed to cut off the flow of federal funds. After a full hearing, Judge Pratt granted the plaintiffs the relief they sought. On February 16, 1973, Pratt entered an order giving HEW 120 days to effect compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Shortly after Judge Pratt's order, Governor Dale Bumpers of Arkansas was notified by OCR that the state must prepare a desegregation plan, a plan subsequently approved by OCR in June, 1974. Arkansas began the implementation of the 1974 plan immediately.

Although the court did not provide Arkansas with guidelines by which to prepare its plan, HEW prepared, pursuant to the 1977 Second Supplemental Order of the Court, a publication entitled Criteria Specifying the Ingredients of Acceptable Plans to Desegregate State Systems of Public Higher Education. This publication sets forth the guidelines for desegregating state systems of higher education under the court order.

When Governor David Pryor was notified of the new HEW guidelines in July 1977, and that new plans consistent with these guidelines had to be prepared, Arkansas again moved to comply. The 1977 plan, together with its various revisions and supplements, constitutes the Arkansas plan for college and university compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

When one reads through or about the Arkansas plan for the desegregation of public higher education, one is immediately struck by the speed, the persistence, and the orderliness with which the plan was developed. The Arkansas plan, from inception to approval, from the administration of Winthrop Rockefeller, through the administration of Dale Bumpers, to the governorship of David Pryor, triumphed over local preferences and the exigencies of federal regulatory efforts to ultimate approval without the public outrage that accompanied this action in other formerly confederate states. A compelling

question is: Why was this so? The answer, at this juncture, must remain in part speculation, but a reasonable conjecture seems to be that the heritage of the state and the nature of the present social scene hold the answer.

The question just noted, the method used by the analyst, the inputs which form the substantive nature of the Arkansas plan—how the plan was developed, how well the plan meets the federal tests, and the implication of the plan for higher education in Arkansas—are the major points around which the following analysis is centered.

Nature of the Social Scene

Arkansas has been described as a state of dramatic contrasts. The statement is based mainly on the state's physical features, but is also complemented by the state's demography. The topography of the state is divided between hilly and mountainous country in the North and Northwest and rolling and flat lands in the East and Southeast. Much of the hilly country is sparsely populated, while the rolling country and flat lands tend to be comparatively heavily populated.⁴ Both the physical features and the population distribution have been important forces in shaping the development of the state, especially the state's reaction to critical issues. The desegregation of public education in Arkansas was and is such an issue.

The framers of the Arkansas plan for the desegregation of public higher education, the members of the legislature, and higher education officials seem to have accepted the principle that a meaningful relationship existed between economic development, "educational opportunity, participation rates, and other data." The state's response to this awareness was the commissioning of a study entitled "Directions for Postsecondary Education in Arkansas, 1977." During the 1977 session, the state legislature appropriated \$100,000 for the Department of Higher Education to conduct the study. The state boldly proclaimed that:

The general emphasis of the study will be to provide the opportunity for every citizen of the state who is beyond the secondary level to fulfill his or her potential to the highest degree he or she chooses,...without regard to race, religion, color, national origin, economic circumstances, sex, or previous educational background, and to provide each citizen within the state both access and reasonable choice among institutions and programs.⁵

The resulting master plan will serve as a guide as the Department of Higher Education seeks to monitor the implementation of the desegregation plan.

Arkansas, like most of the former Confederate states, owes the development of its system of higher education to the much maligned but socially advanced reconstruction governments. In Arkansas, the system has operated on a continuous basis since 1871, when the Arkansas Industrial University at Fayetteville was first established. The name was later changed to the University of Arkansas. The institution awarded its first baccalaureate degrees in 1876. Within three years of the founding of the University of Arkansas, the Arkansas General Assembly in 1873 set up a second land-grant institution at Pine Bluff, called the Arkansas AM&N College, to prepare additional school teachers. The institution is still in operation today. It has a history of providing education mainly for blacks, a role which it continues to play, while it is involved in a transition to a multi-ethnic institution. The merger of the institution with the University of Arkansas in 1972 may have hastened the latter process.⁶

A further and highly useful perspective on the development of the system of higher education in Arkansas may be gained by briefly exploring the origin of other institutions now extant in the system. Four institutions with an agricultural emphasis were opened in 1910 at Russellville, Jonesboro, Monticello

and Magnolia. Between 1918 and 1925, all of these schools added Junior College work.

Until 1920 when Arkansas State Teachers' College began offering degrees, all other higher education degrees, except for ten degrees conferred at AM&N between 1882 and 1894, were conferred by the University of Arkansas. After a period of over thirty years, beginning in 1894, AM&N College at Pine Bluff began granting degrees again in 1929. Generally, most of the other institutions lagged behind University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff in the delivery of the Bachelor's degree. Until 1955, graduate work, which began at the University of Arkansas in 1927, was only offered at that institution. Other institutions now offer the Master's degree, but the University of Arkansas remains the only doctoral degree-granting institution.

Higher Education in Arkansas: The Desegregation Heritage and Other Socioeconomic Concerns

The OCR directives of 1969 applied new pressure on the state of Arkansas to desegregate its system of publicly supported higher education, and the funds withholding provision of Title VI placed a new weapon in the hands of HEW. However, over twenty years earlier the public colleges and universities of Arkansas were undergoing experiments in integration.

In an article on the "Desegregation of Higher Education in Arkansas," published in 1958, A. Stephen Stephan noted and analyzed the attempt at mixture in higher education since 1948. Experiments with integration — the breaking of racial barriers — led Arkansas to many firsts. For example: The first Negro to enter a state university in a former Confederate state was a young black woman from Hot Springs who enrolled in the University of Arkansas Medical School. The University of Arkansas established integrated classes at the Pine Bluff Center and at Little Rock in 1949, and began integrated graduate classes on the main campus at Fayetteville in 1950. The admission of Negroes to graduate and professional schools became a policy of the Board of Trustees for higher education in 1948. The Board of Trustees had voluntarily taken this posi-

tion a year earlier. One of the fruits of this policy was the enrollment of Silas Hunt as the first black student to enter the University of Arkansas since Reconstruction.⁷

In 1955, the question of the admission of blacks to the graduate and professional schools of Arkansas received a decided boost. In response to an inquiry from the presidents of public colleges and universities asking for an opinion on the relevance of the Brown decision to publicly supported higher education and the status of the laws which limited admission according to race, the Arkansas Attorney General provided an answer. He expressed the belief that the May 17, 1954 decision would be made applicable, even though separate but equal facilities were provided. Interestingly enough, presidents of five of the seven white colleges indicated their willingness to follow the law as outlined by the Attorney General's opinion.⁸ Something of this kind of official consensus may be seen in the development of the Arkansas plan for desegregation of higher education today.

Despite these firsts, twenty or more years ago, integration of institutions of higher education in Arkansas has not been either rapid or large-scale. Indeed, the enrollment of the college age population in Arkansas has been among the lowest in the United States. The Arkansas plan for the desegregation of higher education makes this point succinctly, but clearly.

According to the most recent edition of the SREB Fact Book on Higher Education (Southern Regional Education Board), the percent of the population aged 18-24 enrolled in college was 27.3 percent, compared to an average of 34.4 percent in the SREB states and 40.6 percent throughout the United States. Only Georgia had a lower percent of the population enrolled in college than Arkansas within the SREB states. In the 18-21 age category, Arkansas had 44.2 percent of the citizens enrolled in a college as of 1975, while the aver-

age for the SREB states was 58.1 percent and 68.1 percent nationally. No other SREB state had a lower percentage of this age category enrolled in college than did Arkansas. In addition, only 9.2 percent of the total enrollment in Arkansas in 1974 was at the graduate level, whereas the average for the SREB states was 12.2 and 13.2 for the entire United States.

In 1970, the median school year completed by the adult population over the age of 25 years in Arkansas was 1.7 years below the national average of 10.6 and exactly at the average for the SREB 8.9. In the ten years following 1960, however, Arkansas gained .1 of a year on the national average but fell .2 of a year below the point achieved within the SREB states. In 1970, a little over 40 percent of the adult population in Arkansas had eight years or less of formal education, while the SREB average was 34.5 and the national average was 28.3. In addition, only 6.6 percent of the population in Arkansas had four or more years of education beyond high school, whereas 9.6 percent of the population in the SREB state had achieved such a level, and 10.7 percent of the United States population had four or more years of college.⁹

If the period 1970-1975 is taken and the same SREB area used, the economic base for education will be found to be no more promising. In both 1970 and 1975, the per capita income for Arkansas was lower than the average for the SREB states and for the U.S. generally. Further, in the same general period, the tax base, on the basis of tax revenue per capita, general

property taxes, corporate taxes and other sources, was lower in Arkansas than the SREB states and in the United States.¹⁰

Higher Education in Arkansas: Organization for the Delivery of the Educational Services and the Decision-Making Apparatus

Higher education in Arkansas is under the governance of several boards and commissions, many of which have comparable functions. Basic to an appreciation of the development and ultimate nature of the Arkansas plan is some understanding of the role of these bodies. How they interlock and interface was vital to the ease with which an official consensus regarding the state's approach to desegregating higher education was obtained.

At the apex of this board and commission hierarchy and at the head of the policy-making machinery for higher education in Arkansas is the State Board of Higher Education. This organization was active in the state's negotiations with OCR and has played an important role in setting the cooperative tone which, on the whole, has prevailed in the HEW-Arkansas relations.

Higher educational services in Arkansas, in the public sector, are delivered by nine senior colleges and universities and nine two-year and community colleges. (When the University of Arkansas' Medical Sciences campus is counted, the number of senior institutions rises to ten). The citizens of Arkansas are also served by a number of institutions from the private sector. There are eight independent four-year colleges and four two-year independent colleges. Rated also as post-secondary institutions are some twenty-five public vocational-technical schools and over 100 private schools in this category. As a whole, these institutions are strategically located over the state.

Administratively, the public institutions may be conveniently grouped into three major systems: the University of Arkansas

System, the Arkansas State University System and the Southern Arkansas University System. The six Community Colleges have their own individual board of trustees. Other senior institutions not included in the three systems noted above also have individual governing boards. The University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff has a special advisory board which relates to the Board of Trustees of the University of Arkansas. As a rule, the boards of senior institutions are appointed by the governor of the state and confirmed by the senate. The boards for the six community colleges are elected in the districts where the community colleges are located.¹¹

The importance of the boards and commissions notwithstanding, the primary action element in the governance of higher education in Arkansas is the Department of Higher Education (DHE), which holds cabinet rank in state government. The DHE is the executive arm for higher education, especially in relation to the policies established by its coordinating agency, the State Board of Higher Education. The statutory powers of the DHE regarding budgets, degrees and planning provide it with comprehensive authority in the area of higher education. The fact that the executive officer of the DHE and members of the State Board of Higher Education are appointed by the governor affords a solid base for ease in governing. The examination of the Arkansas plan which follows reveals the interaction of these components and their effect upon the development of the plan.

II

METHODOLOGY**Conceptual Framework**

The guiding principle underlying this analysis of the Arkansas Plan for the Desegregation of Higher Education is that the dual system of education should be eradicated and that the principle of equality should receive systematic expression in a statewide plan for post-secondary institutions in the state. The major objective of the analysis is to determine if the plan meets federal tests as found in the 1977 HEW guidelines emerging from Adams v Califano and its antecedents not superceded by the 1977 guidelines. The basic analytical scheme calls for examining the elements of the plan against the guidelines in categories.

The format of the statewide plan in its latest revised form facilitates this type of analysis, since it focuses mainly on the desegregation of institutional missions, desegregation of student enrollment, desegregation of governing boards and on the monitoring process. The role and scope of each institution are examined for conformity with the non-racial requirements of the guidelines. Broadly and simply conceived, their analysis envisages the separation of HEW's criteria into three major categories, which deal with:

- (1) The eradication of the dual system
- (2) Degrees of institutional student mix
- (3) Degrees of institutional faculty, administration, staff, and governing board mix.

The reinforcement of these broad categories and the examination of timetables and specific goals will all claim attention as the analysis proceeds.

Although less explicitly stated than the eclectic model prescribed in the "Introduction, the analytical scheme employed here is nonetheless implicitly built on a system of inputs and outputs which, when converted, lead to the Arkansas plan. The HEW guidelines represented by OCR's demands set minimum limits of compliance; the DHE, the State Board of Education and the individual institutional responses constitute inputs which, when passed by a combination of these entities (together with citizen participation and all components represented by the bi-racial Advisory Committee), assure conversion into outputs. Because the whole process is pre-planned and largely formalized, and the fact that some components play multiple roles, the expression of the models was somewhat less discernible than would have been the case in a conflict-oriented situation. The rather smooth interplay of these forces, aided by the media, created a climate which resulted in a favorable outcome. The repetition inherent in the process of submitting and revising kept the court mandates in control of the entire transaction. The decision-making process is so carefully interwoven into the developmental aspects of the plan that the researcher is, more often than not, faced with the results of decision-making rather than its process.

Data Collection

The nature of this analysis and the status of the Arkansas plan largely determined that the major source of information for the study would be the Statewide Plan in all its versions, and its Supplements. The specific responses to inquiries of the individual institutions represent an important body of material. For example, the appointment, composition, and minutes of the Institutional Human Relations Council meetings reveal attitudes and plans which subsequently shaped the contours of the Arkansas Statewide Desegregation Plan of 1978. In a similar manner, the six (6) Implementation Status Reports provide the analysis with a set of evolving data which, when combined, tend to explicate the analysis in all its dimensions.¹²

Source works such as L.L. Haynes, III's A Critical Examination of the Adams Case: A Source Book; the State Postsecondary Education Profiles Handbook by the Education Commission of the States; Postsecondary Education Opportunities in Arkansas Directory for 1978-1979 and the "HEW Desegregation Criteria" provided both general and specific information. The Arkansas Master Plan, which grew out of the study "Directions for Postsecondary Education in Arkansas, 1977", provides some insight into the impact of the desegregation of higher education in Arkansas.¹³

Available for examination were a number of newspaper and other media articles. Most important in this class of source material were a number of articles from the Arkansas Gazette, covering the period from Spring, 1976 to Spring, 1978. A few articles from Memphis, Tennessee's The Commercial Appeal were important for comparison. Articles in the Chronicle of Higher Education and some of the institutional newspapers provide interesting comments.

Serving also as vital sources of information were a number of interviewees. Especially valuable were interviews with Dr. Olin Cook, Director of the Department of Higher Education, and the Associate Director, Dr. Gary Chamberlin. Interviews were also conducted with faculty and administrators of UAPB, including one in-depth interview with a faculty member of the University of Arkansas at Fayetteville. The latter offered rather penetrating comments on the development of the Arkansas plan. Telephone interviews were also conducted with several black leaders in education, religion and civil rights, all of whom provided insight into the Arkansas planning process.

Secondary sources used for background information included a 1974 report of the Arkansas State Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights entitled Blacks In the Arkansas Delta, and the well-known writings of A. Stephans and Harry Ashmore. Blacks In the Arkansas Delta is especially valuable for a discussion of the economic and social welfare problems of blacks living in the Delta region of Arkansas in the early 1970's. Adolph Reed's comments on inputs into the plan and correspondence between David Tatel and state educators helped to illuminate the current scene.

Time Frame

The study covers the period from January, 1969, when Governor Rockefeller received the first notification from OCR, through Spring, 1978, when OCR finally accepted the Arkansas plan for compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Scope

While the focus of this analysis is largely on the statewide plan as an entity, its impact on higher education in Arkansas, through the current and impending changes it requires in the structure, program, and personnel of all institutions of higher education in the state, is also considered.

The limitations inherent in the use of analytic models in the type of study at hand have already been discussed in the Introduction. Yet, the application of such a technique provides the study with some a priori claims to a place in the literature based on this type of analysis.

The scope of the study is also limited by the time frame, the available sources, and by the postsecondary educational institutions in Arkansas examined. Here and there, some comment will be offered on issues, events and forces not directly related to desegregation, but nevertheless considered germane to a discussion of higher education decision-making in Arkansas.

The list of institutions and their physical locations in the state of Arkansas, as depicted on the map, are considered minimum essentials needed by the reader before examining the development and analysis of the Arkansas desegregation plan.

ARKANSAS PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Arkansas State University
Jonesboro, Arkansas 72467

Arkansas State University - Beebe
Beebe, Arkansas 72012

Arkansas Tech University
Russellville, Arkansas 72802

Henderson State University
Arkadelphia, Arkansas 71923

Southern Arkansas University
Magnolia, Arkansas 71753

Southern Arkansas University - El Dorado
El Dorado, Arkansas 71730

Southwest Technical Institute
Southern Arkansas University
Camden, Arkansas 71701

University of Arkansas
Fayetteville, Arkansas 72701

University of Arkansas at Little Rock
Little Rock, Arkansas 72204

University of Arkansas at Monticello
Monticello, Arkansas 71633

University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff
Pine Bluff, Arkansas 71601

University of Arkansas Medical Sciences Campus
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201

University of Central Arkansas
Conway, Arkansas 72032

East Arkansas Community College
Forrest City, Arkansas 72335

Garland County Community College
Hot Springs, Arkansas 71901

Mississippi County Community College
Blytheville, Arkansas 72315

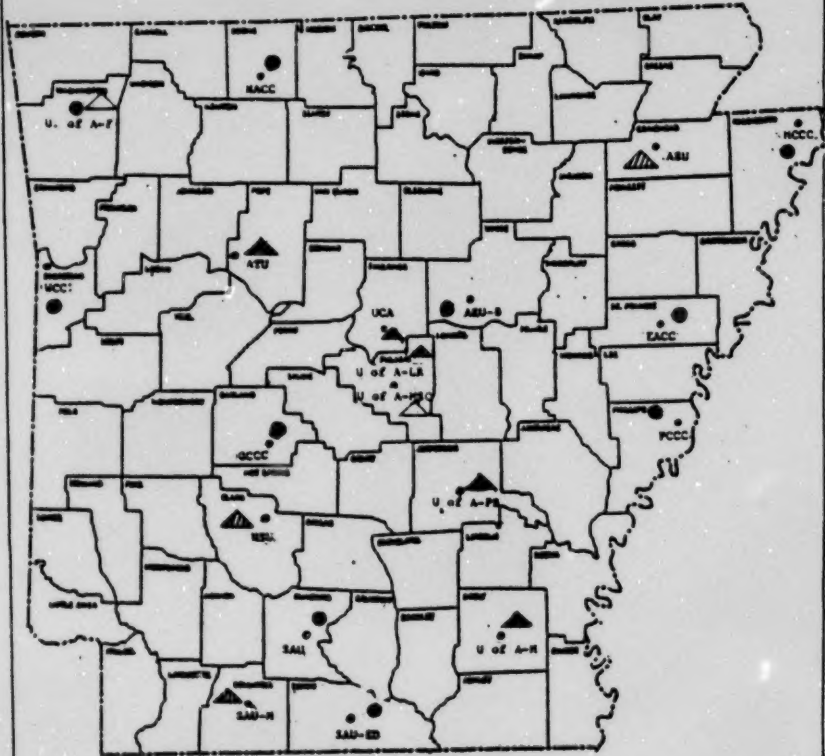
North Arkansas Community College
Harrison, Arkansas 72601

Phillips County Community College
Helena, Arkansas 72342

Westark Community College
Fort Smith, Arkansas 72901

Figure 1

HIGHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS BY LEVEL AND LOCATION



Two-Year and Community Colleges ●

Bachelor Degree Institutions ▨

B.A. and M.A. Institutions ▲

Ph.D. Institutions △

• Source: Arkansas Statewide Plans Implementation Status Report V

III

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PLAN**Overview**

The development of the Arkansas plan offers an unusual perspective on the story of the desegregation of education in the South. Absent in this instance were the usual vocal individuals, groups, coalitions and cliques raising strident voices for and against integration. Indeed, the Arkansas plan appears to have developed in an atmosphere of mutual support and cooperation (this is certainly true of the official elements of the higher education establishment). Comment on how deeply this consensus extended downward into the social structure will be offered later in this analysis; this much is clear, however: the inputs into the statewide plan were either controlled by the higher education governing authorities or were manipulated by those authorities in such a way that dissidence was screened out. The conclusion is easily reached that the environment was favorable to the Arkansas statewide plan for the desegregation of higher education.

Institutional and Organizational Inputs

The Arkansas plan was developed from three (3) major sources of input. The driving force was the Department of Higher Education and its coordinating agency, the State Board of Higher Education. Each publicly supported institution of higher education in the state made a contribution, and the work of the Biracial Advisory Committee for the desegregation plan provided input from a broad-based constituency.

The Desegregation Advisory Committee grew out of the failure of the desegregation plan of 1974 to meet court approval. In January, 1977, HEW informed Governor David Pryor that the 1974 plan did not meet important desegregation requirements and had failed to achieve significant progress toward higher education desegregation. At the same time, the court ordered HEW to develop new guidelines with more specific instructions concerning an acceptable desegregation plan. One of the major conditions set forth in the new guidelines was the requirement that each of the six states then under litigation establish a biracial citizens' advisory/monitoring committee to assist the state in monitoring the implementation of the plan. (See pages 46 and 47).

Between April, 1977, when Governor David Pryor received the second supplemental order from HEW, and July 1977, the Department of Higher Education appointed a Biracial Advisory Committee of 40 members. Half of the members were representatives of institutions of higher education appointed by the chief officers of the various institutions. Half were not employed in institutions but were selected on the basis of geographical areas of the state. The composition of the committee was 47.5 percent black and 52.5 percent white.¹⁴

HIGHER EDUCATION DESEGREGATION PLAN **ADVISORY COMMITTEE***

Institutional Representatives

Dr. Georgena Duncan
Arkansas Tech University
Russellville, Arkansas

*Source: Arkansas Statewide Plan: Implementation Status Report VI, pp. 65-66.

Ms. Marilyn Myers
Arkansas State University
Jonesboro, Arkansas

Ms. Cynthia Johnson
Arkansas State University-Beebe
Beebe, Arkansas

Mrs. Aileen Bumphus
East Arkansas Community College
Forrest City, Arkansas

Mr. Ronnie Garner
Garland County Community College
Hot Springs, Arkansas

Dr. James Andrews
Henderson State University
Arkadelphia, Arkansas

Mr. Mylas Jeffers
Mississippi County Community College
Blytheville, Arkansas

Mr. Leon Blackwood
North Arkansas Community College
Harrison, Arkansas

Dr. Gene Weber
Phillips County Community College
Helena, Arkansas

Mr. Alvin Brannon
Southern Arkansas University
Magnolia, Arkansas

Mr. Harvey Post
Southern Arkansas University-El Dorado
El Dorado, Arkansas

Mr. Hoyle Mann
Southwest Technical Institute
Camden, Arkansas

Mr. Merlin Augustine
University of Arkansas System
Fayetteville, Arkansas

Ms. Barbara Taylor
University of Arkansas-Fayetteville
Fayetteville, Arkansas

Mr. Neyland Hester
University of Arkansas at Little Rock
Little Rock, Arkansas

Ms. Diane Gilleland
University of Arkansas at Monticello
Monticello, Arkansas

Dr. Walter Littlejohn
University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff
Pine Bluff, Arkansas

Dr. Charles Prigmore
University of Arkansas Medical Sciences Campus
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dr. Charles Hodge
University of Central Arkansas
Conway, Arkansas

Mr. Richard Hudson
Westark Community College
Fort Smith, Arkansas

Non-institutional Representatives

Mr. Thomas Baskins
North Little Rock, Arkansas

Reverend Claiborne Bell
Fayetteville, Arkansas

Mr. Sam Bennett
Helena, Arkansas

Mrs. Louvenia Clark
Forrest City, Arkansas

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Pine Bluff, Arkansas

Mr. Roscoe Cox
Harrison, Arkansas

Mrs. Grace Davis
Brinkley, Arkansas

Mrs. S. W. Freeman
Newport, Arkansas

Mr. John Gammon
Marion, Arkansas

Mr. Edward Harris
Russellville, Arkansas

Mr. Samuel Highsmith
Batesville, Arkansas

Dr. J.J. Lacey
Little Rock, Arkansas

Mr. Clarence Lovell
Eudora, Arkansas

Mr. Ed. McCorkle
Arkadelphia, Arkansas

Mr. Bill Merrell
Magnolia, Arkansas

Mr. Allen Patterson
Jonesboro, Arkansas

Mr. Andrew Power
North Little Rock, Arkansas

Mr. Eddie Pulliam
DeQueen, Arkansas

Ms. Albessie Thompson
Little Rock, Arkansas

Mr. Leon Thompson
Fort Smith, Arkansas

The appointment of the Biracial Committee for the desegregation plan was the first major step in the development of the revised 1977 plan, which was subsequently approved by HEW. The Committee is regarded as having been a critical factor in the development of the plan and the acceptance of the plan on both local and federal levels.¹⁵ The Committee met several times during the preparation of the plan,¹⁶ and on at least one occasion, November 4, 1976, representatives of the OCR from the Dallas office were present.¹⁷

The Department of Higher Education functioned as the executive arm throughout the development of the plan. However, the interest of the Governor in the nature and pace of the proceedings was always manifest. In most instances the Governor's assistant either participated in important conferences or was in constant contact with the principals. The State Board of Higher Education was also in the forefront of the OCR Arkansas negotiations.

The best vantage point from which to observe the leadership role of the Department of Higher Education in Arkansas is its work for the implementation of the 1974 plan in the various colleges and universities. In addition to requiring each institution to develop a plan and report the program achieved, DHE required nearly every institution to improve its human relations and recruitment of minority students, teachers, and other minor-

Figure 2

**RACE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION
DESEGREGATION ADVISORY COMMITTEE***

INSTITUTIONAL REPRESENTATIVES

	White	Black		
Female	4	2	6	(30%)
Male	9	3	14	(70%)
	13	7	20	
	(65%)	(35%)		

NON-INSTITUTIONAL REPRESENTATIVES

	White	Black		
Female	2	2	4	(20%)
Male	6	10	16	(80%)
	8	12	20	
	(40%)	(60%)		

ENTIRE COMMITTEE

	White	Black		
Female	6	4	10	(25%)
Male	15	13	30	(75%)
	21	19	40	
	(52.5%)	(47.5%)		

* Source: Arkansas Statewide Plans Implementation Status Report V

* Source : Arkansas Statewide Plans Implementation Status Report V.

ity personnel. DHE was especially effective in acquiring program cooperation and special equipment funds for the University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff (UAPB). DHE also gave its attention to increasing minority representation on governing boards.

The human relations committee located on each campus had a special composition and a special role. For example, each committee had to be composed of 20 percent whites at UAPB. The purpose of the human relations committee was to identify discriminatory practices and recommend programs for the elimination of these practices and the improvement of relations among students, staff and faculty.¹⁸

A high point in the human relations movement came in 1976. In April of that year a seminar for human relations committees was conducted at UAPB, under the title "Seeking New Directions for Renewed Involvement". The names of the participants in this seminar became a matter of record and the minutes of their meeting indicated that the committees were the principal instrument of crossover activities in many of the predominantly white institutions. The network of activities sponsored by the committee covered a broad spectrum of special events, from matters dealing with academic support services to Black Awareness Week. Their major impact was perhaps what they accomplished in sensitizing the involved institutions to the entire desegregation thrust.¹⁹

Among the many projects inaugurated were several programs operated with federal support. DHE extended its efforts to establishing a clearinghouse for the location of minority personnel. The move to make minorities more visible in the operation of the state system of higher education was urged forward by the decision of Governor David Pryor to make good his promise to appoint blacks to 60 percent of the board of the state colleges and universities before the end of 1976 and on all governing boards by the academic year 1979-80. The promise was fulfilled to the extent that only one institution of higher education was left without a minority representative by 1978.²⁰

Almost 300 pages of the Implementation Status Report V were devoted to the status of and plans for desegregation at the state's nine senior colleges and universities, the nine junior and community colleges and the University of Arkansas Medical Science Campus. Since the plans not only indicated what had been but also what hopes and commitments were outstanding, they are recognized here as inputs to the emerging Arkansas Statewide Plan for the Desegregation of Higher Education. Since the work of each institution became a part of a general report, the institutions were bound together in a network of future commitments linked with pledges to OCR, DHE and the Board of Higher Education.

Although it varied in some respects, a single report format was utilized by each institution. This format ingeniously molded the institutions into a state league for the desegregation of higher education. The basic requirement in reporting progress differed little between the junior and senior institutions. Generally, the format called for a description of the institution and a brief narrative on enrollment, admission and recruitment policies and the impact of these policies on minority enrollment and retention.

Financial aid, including sources and adequacy of funds, was an important feature in each report. Plans for minority employment required descriptive narratives. Reports were also required on efforts at program cooperation among institutions, providing an opportunity for cross-institutional visitation and cultural enhancement. As indicated above, the reports follow the same general format, although emphasis on scholarships and admission to special programs varies from one report to another. Together these reports lay out a plan of action, set guidelines for the official desegregation of higher education and, to a large extent, determine the contours of the Arkansas desegregation plan.

OCR Demands

The input from the Office of Civil Rights is most clearly seen through the reports of meetings with Arkansas officials, critiques of the 1974 Arkansas plan, and the record of findings from on-site visits to various institutions of higher education

in Arkansas. The prime documents in this category are the August 4, 1975, letter from Dorothy D. Stuck, Director of OCR Region VI, to Governor David Pryor of Arkansas, and the "Attachment" containing the findings and recommendations which formed the substantive basis of the Stuck letters.

The report, referred to as "The Attachment", was developed as of May 1, 1975, and contained a long list of failures of the state of Arkansas to meet commitments established by an agreed-upon timetable. The report provided critical comments on thirty-five separate items on which commitments had been made relative to students, employees, physical and financial resources, curriculum, role and scope statements and implementation, cost, and monitoring. The report also offered some fifteen sets of "findings" detailing a litany of unmet promises.

Taking a position firmly planted on the findings of the May 1, 1975 Report, Ms. Stuck's letter to Governor Pryor set forth in very clear language the obligation which the state of Arkansas had to meet to bring the state's plan in compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Prior to listing specific demands and a time frame in which these demands were to be met, Ms. Stuck's letter pointed out specific failures that tended to rupture the bond of good faith which had been established with the state during the planning process. Four concerns are set out below:

- (1) The attempt of the DHE to rely on voluntary implementation, and the initiative of individual institutions.
- (2) The failure to establish monitoring procedures between the DHE and the institutions, and at the institutional levels.
- (3) DHE's decision to rely upon general funds for implementation rather than special requests from the legislature.
- (4) The Arkansas State Assembly's approval of new programs without benefit of a desegregation impact analysis.

Stuck's letter summed up the analysis by indicating that the failure of the state to act left no alternative but to conclude that "the Department of Higher Education and all public institutions of higher education in the state of Arkansas, including community colleges and the University of Arkansas system, have not complied with the Plan and that the violations of Title VI previously identified continue to exist." Ms. Stuck continued by warning that if the required measures were not taken in a specified time and documentation provided to OCR, then enforcement actions would be taken.²¹

The letter then proceeded to lay down a series of demands which had to be met within a time limit of 60 days. Writing in the imperative, the OCR official addressed each issue by prescribing what "the state must" do in the following areas:

Recruitment - the state must have in place and functioning a statewide program to assure that race will not be a factor in student selection by institutions.

Admissions - the state must evaluate admissions criteria to determine that equal opportunity is provided to black students.

Retention of black students and related programs - the state must evaluate the rate of retention of black students at each institution. The state must also have functional remedial programs, including tutorial services, expanded counseling and a means of corrective actions of grading and evaluating problems where they exist.

Employment - the state must achieve desegregation of the faculty and staff of each public institution of higher education. Further, the state must implement and submit to OCR an affirmative action compliance program applicable to each state system. The state must correct the salary inequities borne by UAPB. Along with salary adjustments, pension inequities also must be eliminated.

Enhancement of UAPB - the state must make substantial improvement in this institution in the form of additional, upgraded and realigned programs. The state must be able to demonstrate that the new program alignment will, by its uniqueness, be reasonably attractive to students of other races. A program designed to achieve this goal must have the necessary resources committed.

Board Appointments - the state must act to desegregate the Boards of all 4-year and 2-year institutions of higher education.

Facilities - the state must have and implement a plan of construction which will result in the equalization of facilities at UAPB. The state must also equalize instructional materials and equipment at UAPB by September, 1976. Deficiencies at UAPB must undergo an evaluation and a plan of corrective measures adopted.

Desegregation Impact Determinations - the state must conduct a desegregation impact analysis on all actions related to academic programs, facilities, institutions and admission standards.

Ms. Stuck authenticated OCR's demands by informing the Governor that the findings and actions covered in her letter had been reviewed with OCR's Washington office and had received their concurrence. It was these demands that set the parameters for the statewide plan of 1977.²²

IV

THE ARKANSAS DESEGREGATION PLAN: THE ANALYSIS

Overview

The plan is organized into six sections, which are: (1) background and development of the plan; (2) history of higher education in Arkansas; (3) disestablishment of the structure of the dual system; (4) desegregation of student enrollment; (5) desegregation of faculty, administrative staff, non-academic personnel, and governing boards; and (6) submission of plans and monitoring. The final four sections of the plan correspond directly with the section included in the guidelines.

The format used to present the plan also follows a definite schema. The disestablishment of the structure of the dual system and the desegregation of students and school personnel are treated by giving a background analysis of each of the sections, the commitments to achieve the goals, and a timetable for implementation of the process.

Refining the Plan

Each of the three major plans submitted represented a refinement of the previous ones. The various supplements usually

included additional features or upgraded features demanded by OCR. The last supplement of March, 1978, is a massive document, larger than the 1977 plan itself.

Disestablishment of the Dual System

High among the priorities expressed by OCR about the failings of the Arkansas plan of 1974 was evidence of racially-based dual missions in the role and scope statements of higher education institutions in the state. Specifically, OCR demanded that the discernible racial role assigned to UAPB be eradicated and that Arkansas specifically "define the mission of each institution within the state system on a basis other than race". The statewide plan attempted to meet this responsibility by including in the mission statements of all institutions a commitment to "providing programs for the socially, culturally and economically disadvantaged students". The plan also committed each institution to continuing and expanding efforts in this respect. The effect of the change was that Arkansas' historically black public college, University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff, was able to continue traditional work with its special clientele. The new role and scope statements adopted by the State Board of Higher Education ultimately became a part of the accepted 1977 plan. The key inclusion in the current role and scope statements that qualify these statements as nondiscriminatory is the somewhat bland expression, "Programs will be provided for undergraduate students, accepted for enrollment in accordance with stated admission policies, whose pre-college educational backgrounds need strengthening".

These role and scope statements are a precondition to the establishment of other role and scope measures. For example, the four levels of educational services delivered by higher educational institutions in Arkansas must be delivered by each class of institution within the framework of the non-discriminatory provisions set forth above. Public higher educational institutions in Arkansas are divided into four categories, based on the types of services they deliver.

Type 1: Advanced Graduate Level Institutions

A comprehensive university, primarily of a residential nature, with offerings at the undergraduate, masters, and doctoral levels and a number of professional schools. Emphasis will be placed on graduate and professional study and research.

An urban-oriented institution located in the major population center of the state, Little Rock, offering work at both undergraduate levels.

Residential universities with broad undergraduate and selected graduate programs.

Type 2: Master's Level Institutions

A core of institutions with emphasis on undergraduate degree programs with limited master's degree programs.

Type 3: Baccalaureate Level Institutions

A core of institutions emphasizing quality undergraduate degree programs.

Type 4: Two-year Level Institutions

A statewide system of public comprehensive community colleges offering vocational, technical, continuing education, and college transfer programs of two years (or less) duration available preferably within daily commuting distance of all citizens of the state.

With the exception of the University of Arkansas at Fayetteville, which tends to serve the entire state, all other institutions have historically and by design functioned by serving regions of the state. It is expected that regional orientation of all institutions, except the University of Arkansas-Fayetteville,

will continue to be a major part of planned educational opportunities for the citizens of the state.²³

The significance for desegregation of these role and scope designations is that they imply, along with other elements of the plan, that structures will be developed for the academic retention of culturally different students, and that when these statements become a part of the Master Plan, they should become a stable part of the fabric of the higher education system of the state — a system which in the Fall of 1977 enrolled 59,982 students, not counting the University of Arkansas Medical Sciences Campus. The framers of the plan used a scheme in which size of student body, staff, and geographic area served were important measurable indices in satisfying desegregation requirements. (See Appendices B, C, D, for employment and enrollment data.)

The University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff: A Special Concern of the Plan

One of the specific questions posed by the HEW Guidelines, and a major concern of Adams v. Califano, is the probable impact of desegregation on the historically or traditionally black colleges in a state. The Adams decisions spoke rather pointedly on the matter; substantively, desegregation was not to place a heavier burden on black colleges than other institutions and, more positively, specific steps were to be taken to enhance the traditionally black institutions (TBI's) so that they would not only fit into an integrated system but become more attractive to ethnic groups other than blacks.

The state of Arkansas has had only one historically black public college, The University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff, formerly known as Arkansas AM&N College.²⁴ Shortly after the 1969 desegregation notice, the institution moved some distance away from its traditional and historical role when it became a campus of the University of Arkansas system through merger. While UAPB continues to serve the same clientele, certain matters of governance have been changed. As in the past, at this point the relevant question is: What specific steps were taken to strengthen the role of UAPB?

Summarized below is a list of specific aspects of the plan to strengthen UAPB:

- (1) An extensive plan for renovation of existing structures on the UAPB campus has been put into operation.
- (2) Appropriations have been made for the construction of a physical education building and a swimming pool.
- (3) The Board of Trustees of the University of Arkansas has approved a plan to demolish non-repairable structures and hence improve the appearance of the UAPB campus.
- (4) Institutional funds have been raised for institutional improvement.
- (5) Student financial aid at UAPB has been raised to the level enjoyed by other institutions in the system.
- (6) New programs of study have been added to the UAPB curriculum since 1974. These programs are a nursing degree program, a B.S. in Special Education, a pre-engineering program, a B.A. in Psychology, a B.A. in Political Science and two Associate of Arts degree programs in Industrial Technology and Law Enforcement. The University of Arkansas has established a graduate resident center at UAPB.
- (7) Recruitment policies have been brought in line with OCR demands.
- (8) Academic support programs have been strengthened, added, or realigned.
- (9) Salary and pension inequities are being eradicated.
- (10) Efforts to strengthen faculty by improving its degrees are being made.
- (11) The Plan calls for bringing UAPB on par with other institutions of its class, specifically by upgrading the land-grant function and building master's degree programs.

In general, the Arkansas plan for the desegregation of higher education attempts to stay in line with HEW guidelines which call for strengthening the historically black college in a state that is undergoing desegregation orders.

Although the state's efforts to improve UAPB have been laudable, the delay in making the requisite funds available has hampered the achievement of some goals by retarding time-tables set for implementation. A commitment has been accepted by the state to provide the necessary funding by recommendations developed for the Governor and the 1979 session of the Arkansas General Assembly.

Desegregation of Student Enrollment

The Arkansas plan addresses student enrollment patterns as related to area. The plan was developed to alleviate the problems caused by the LDF, OCR and interested black citizens who have raised questions concerning the continuation of a dual system of education. Primary emphasis has been placed on determining the extent to which blacks are entering and remaining in traditionally white institutions.

After a series of efforts to specifically respond to the guidelines developed and proposed by HEW, the state offices of higher education enlisted interracial community-based committees in the design of the plan. Establishing a more balanced mix of students in the traditionally white institutions was an obvious objective of the community committees.

Data suggests that an attempt was made to attack the student enrollment on state university and college campuses by recognizing the disparity of twelfth grade black and white students during the academic year of 1975/1976. The following academic year witnessed a 20.8 percent rise of first-time black enrollment in the post-secondary educational institutions of the state. Obviously, there is no appreciable difference in the proportion of black students enrolled in the final grade of high school and those who go on to postsecondary institutions on a statewide basis. Further, there is little or no appreciable

difference between the number of white students enrolled in high schools of the state and those who enter public post-secondary education. In short, educational parity (as this term refers to continuation after high school) seems to be the case in Arkansas.

By 1982/83, the Arkansas plan calls for blacks to represent sixteen percent of total enrollment in each traditionally white four-year institution. The Department of Higher Education and bi-racial committees are to monitor progress toward the attainment of this goal. The Department of Education is committed to improving institutional recruitment, counseling, and financial aid practices in the interest both of increasing equality of opportunity and fostering higher retention.

The plan calls for a continuing examination and analysis of black enrollment in the state's seven graduate institutions. Presently, Arkansas has seven institutions that offer graduate programs, with a doctorate offered at the University of Arkansas' Medical Science Campus in Little Rock. In addition, the University of Arkansas in Fayetteville and the University of Arkansas at Little Rock offer professional degrees in Medicine and Pharmacy. By 1981-82, the state of Arkansas intends to reduce the disparity of 4.3 percent between black and white students enrolled in graduate and professional schools in the state by 25 percent per year, over a four-year period. The School of Law and Medicine will attempt to make substantial improvements according to the timetable, with corrective measures and monitoring by the Arkansas Department of Higher Education; the effort contemplated will provide for improvement but not for parity.

There are nine (9) two-year institutions supported by the state of Arkansas. Arkansas' Master Plan specifies timetables for sequential implementation of action to decrease the difficulties of black students trying to enroll in the state's two-year institutions. Also, an effort is being made to increase mobility between two-year and four-year institutions. This effort is in the form of requests to institutions to specify measures to be used in the achievement of projected goals against timetables. The statewide plan supplement submitted to OCR makes reference to specific measures to be followed. Most of these

measures have already been discussed. In summary, they relate to improved recruitment, retention programs, special counseling and increasing opportunities for financial aid.

Desegregation of Faculty, Administrative Staff, Non-Academic Personnel and Governing Boards

The Arkansas plan for desegregation of faculty, administrators, non-academic personnel and governing boards calls for the adoption of new goals, timetables, corrective measures and increased commitment for the further elimination of a dual system of higher education. The State Board of Higher Education, in response to HEW's guidelines, calls for the adoption of a plan to place black faculty and administrators at each institution on the staff of each governing board or any other state higher education entity; in positions not requiring the doctorate, these persons are to exist in numbers equal to the proportion of black students graduating with master's degrees from institutions within the state system, or to the proportion of black individuals with the required credentials for such positions in the relevant market areas, whichever is greater. The State Board of Higher Education accepts the norm of 6.38 percent as representing the number of black persons graduating with master's degrees from public institutions. The Department of Higher Education assumes responsibility for monitoring compliance with goals cited in the plan.

Significant insights into the employment problems of blacks who hold doctorates are being gained by the State Board of Higher Education through the accessible data on the availability of black Ph.D's in the labor market area, and the lack of a state plan to upgrade blacks enrolled in graduate and professional schools at the doctoral level. A so-called realistic percentage of 2.2 has been used by the State Board of Higher Education as an interim goal for adjusting the proportion of doctoral-level black faculty and administrators at each institution and representatives on the staff of each governing board and other higher education entities. The 2.2 percent figure represents the current available data in the national labor

market area and should be constantly researched, so as to eliminate disparities in the size of black and white talent pools.

To be a viable entity in the governance of higher education in Arkansas, blacks must be appointed to all postsecondary boards in proportion to their representation in the population. During the administrations of Governor Dale Bumpers and Governor David Pryor, black representation existed on all boards, except one. In the 1967-68 academic year, black representation occurred only on the board of the University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff (then Arkansas AM&N College) and the Board of the Phillips County Community College. Only Southern Arkansas University, North Arkansas Community College and West Arkansas University might understandably lack a black board member; this is due to the absence of blacks in the districts where these institutions are located. The Governor has promised to appoint a black member to the Board of Trustees of Southern Arkansas University before the end of 1978.

It is essential and necessary that the entities of higher education in the state make all available efforts to include black personnel in the decision-making governance of higher education.

Monitoring

Beginning in August, 1978, and each August during the life of the plan, the Department of Higher Education will produce annual reports to be submitted to the Office of Civil Rights concerning implementation of the plan for the previous academic year. The monitoring of the plan will include a description of the specific measures taken to:

- (1) Achieve the objectives enumerated in the plan.
- (2) Provide a description of the results achieved.
- (3) Provide an analysis of the reasons why any step taken proved inadequate or insufficient.

- (4) Describe steps the state will take to achieve progress and to maintain timetables set forth in the plan.

The state will provide statistical reports, assessments and other such information considered necessary, and in as timely a manner as possible. All participants will be given ample time to make reports and carry out related responsibilities. The desegregation plan submitted in 1978 is signed by the Governor of the State of Arkansas as an indication of the official policy adopted by the State Board of Higher Education and each institutional Board of Trustees. In addition, the Governor will be reminded each year of the need for minority representation on boards and agencies whose appointments are subject to the authority of the Governor. Furthermore, OCR will be consulted before changes in measures are implemented.

Current updated reports on compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the 1977 Arkansas State Plan for Higher Education are available from Arkansas State University, Arkansas State University at Beebe, Arkansas Technical University, East Arkansas Community College, Garland County Community College, Henderson State University, Mississippi County College, North Arkansas Community College, Southern Arkansas University (Eldorado Branch), Phillips County Community College, North Arkansas Community College, Southern Technical Institute, University of Arkansas at Fayetteville, University of Arkansas Medical Science Campus, Southern Arkansas University (Eldorado Branch), University of Arkansas at Little Rock, University of Arkansas at Monticello, University of Central Arkansas, and Westark Community College.

V

MEETING THE FEDERAL TEST: ARKANSAS' RESPONSE TO THE CRITERIA

The final section of this analysis addresses the Arkansas College and University Plan for Compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, measured against HEW's criteria for quality of response.²⁵ In general, the tone of the plan is cooperative, and statements from the leading actors in the drama are unusually mild and firm. But how does the plan fare when measured against the three major themes of the HEW criteria: (1) eradication of dual systems; (2) degrees of student mix; and (3) extent of faculty, administrator, staff and governing board (including any other higher education entity) mix?

Eradication of the Dual System (1-8)

- (1) *Does the Plan define the mission of each institution within the state system on a basis other than race?*
- (2) *Does the Plan specify steps to be taken to strengthen the role of traditionally black institutions in the state system?*
- (3) *Does the Plan commit the state to take specific steps to eliminate educationally unnecessary program duplication among traditionally black and traditionally white institutions in the same service area?*

(4) Does the Plan commit the state to give priority consideration to placing any new undergraduate, graduate, or professional degree programs, courses of study, etc., which may be proposed at traditionally black institutions, consistent with their missions?

The key to the disestablishment of the dual system was bringing the role and scope statements by all institutions in line with the non-racial requirements of OCR. The roles of institutions are defined in the plan according to the levels of work offered and the scope of their programs. This solution allowed the one TBI to maintain its historical role and meet the new requirements at the same time.

A rather definitive plan for strengthening the TBI was accepted as a goal, and many of the commitments have already been met. A timetable has been set for the full achievement of the goals before the end of the life of the plan. The new associate and bachelor's programs are impressive extensions of the curriculum and should attract a multi-racial student body. The institution is very close to a goal for student mix already.

One very noticeable defect of the plan is the limitation of the mission. It is a restricting element and allows the building and development of the program needed to serve the region and population served by the TBI to go unmet, because delivery of the types of services needed or desired is clearly not within the framework of the TBI's mission. In this respect, many questions are left unanswered. The solution posed by the plan fails to recognize UAPB as a leading institution in the state system. For example, there seems to be no doctoral offering other than in the medical sciences in the region where UAPB is located. Why not at Pine Bluff?

(5) Does the Plan commit the state to withhold approval of any changes in the operation of the state system or of any institutions that may have the effect of thwarting the achievement of its desegregation goals?

Changes affecting academic programs, access, and institutions are to be made only after a desegregation impact analysis has been made and notification sent to OCR. The monitoring apparatus is charged with the responsibility of this type of oversight.

(6) Does the Plan commit the state to advise OCR of proposed major changes in the mission or the character of any institution within the state system which may directly or indirectly affect the achievement of its desegregation goals prior to their formal adoption?

Yes, but to some extent this could be counter-productive in view of proposed strategies for educational development and advancing the goals of desegregation. It builds into the Arkansas higher education system a static factor which seems to argue in favor of "line-holding" on both sides of the fence. For an institution many miles behind, hope can only be dimly seen. Yet, the goals, while achievable, are nonetheless stabilizing in that they are linked to the lower limits of the standards of both the local and national levels.

(7) Does the Plan specify timetables for sequential implementation of the actions necessary to achieve these goals as soon as possible but no later than within five years (by the close of the academic year 1981-82), unless compelling justification for a longer period for compliance is provided to and accepted by the Department?

Yes, the Plan is very firm and very clear on this point.

(8) Does the plan commit the state and all its involved agencies and subdivisions to specific measures for achievement of the above objectives?

Yes, this is the keystone of the plan. Each entity in higher education in Arkansas is linked to the state's commitment to achieve the goal of desegregation.

Degrees of Institutional Student Mix (9-17)

(9) Does the Plan adopt the goal that for two-year and four-year undergraduate public higher education institutions in the state system, taken as a whole, the proportion of black high school graduates throughout the state who enter such institutions shall be at least equal to the proportion of white high school graduates throughout the state who enter such institutions?

Meeting this particular criterion falls short of the specific needs of the minority community since the shortage among Arkansas blacks, as is the case elsewhere, is related to the need for an increased number of professionals to enter the labor market where credentials must be at least as high as the bachelor's degree. Yet, the plan correctly assumes that in order to meet the goals at A.A. and B.A. degree levels, it is necessary to increase, or at least equalize, the high school output.

(10) Does the Plan adopt the goal that there shall be an annual increase, to be specified by each state system, in the proportion of black students in the traditionally white four-year undergraduate public higher education institutions in the state system taken as a whole and in each such institution?

(11) Does the Plan adopt the objective of reducing the disparity between the proportion of black high school graduates and the proportion of white high school graduates entering (for the purposes of this sub-section, the term "entering" encompasses first-time transfers from two-year and other institutions) traditionally white four-year and upper-division undergraduate public higher education institutions in the state system; as well as adopt the goal of reducing the current disparity by at least fifty percent by the academic year 1982-83? However, this shall not require any state to increase by that date black student admissions by more than 150% above the admissions for the academic year of 1976-77?

Yes, but the manner in which it can be satisfied might possibly be meaningless. The basic fault of the criteria is that they assume that there is already a significant representation of blacks on each college site. Obviously, one hundred and fifty percent of 2 or 3 students is hardly astounding, yet it would satisfy the plan.

(12) Does the Plan adopt the goal that the proportion of black state residents who graduate from undergraduate institutions in the state system and enter graduate study or professional schools in the state system shall be at least equal to the proportion of white state residents who graduate from undergraduate institutions in the state system and enter such schools?

(13) Does the Plan adopt the goal of increasing the total proportion of white students attending traditionally black institutions?

(14) Does the Plan commit the state to take all reasonable steps to reduce any disparity between the proportion of black and white students completing and graduating from the two-year, four-year and graduate public institutions of higher education, and establish interim goals, to be specified by the state system, for achieving annual progress?

(15) Does the Plan commit the state to expand mobility between two-year and four-year institutions as a means of meeting the goals set forth in these criteria?

(16) Does the Plan specify timetables for sequential implementation of actions necessary to achieve these goals as soon as possible but not later than within five years (by the close of the academic year 1981-82) unless another date is specified in this section?

(17) Does the Plan commit the state and all its involved agencies and subdivisions to specific measures to achieve these goals?

All of the criteria set out in numbers 10-17 deal with some aspect of the problem of student mix from the twelfth grade

through graduate and professional schools. The basic principles governing the action to be taken rest on equity in participation with whites, the elimination of disparities, and increased participation and retention of minority students.

As noted earlier in this analysis, the size and distribution of population of the state would be of the utmost importance in arranging desegregation goals institution-by-institution. Pope and Yell counties, which are the main drawing areas for Arkansas Tech University (ATU), have less than 4% black population. For ATU to reach a state goal of 16% minorities, some difficulties will have to be overcome. On the other hand, there are some predominantly white institutions (PWI's) that have already met their goals: both Henderson State University (HSU) and Phillipa Community College are examples of two PWI's that have met their goals. Yet, Arkansas Tech supported the plan for desegregation and the difficult attainment of minority enrollment goals as well.²⁶ Indeed, only Dr. Charles Bishop, President of the University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, felt that the goals could not be met. Corliss Howard, a State Board of Higher Education member and, more recently, Secretary, chided Dr. Bishop, saying the goals could be reached "if attacked in a positive manner."²⁷

The plan does, however, establish the requisite goals and gives commitments to achieve them. The plan also provides a timetable for removing disparities existing in graduate and professional schools.

Degrees of Institutional Faculty, Administrators, Staff, and Governing Board Mix (18-24)

(18) Does the Plan adopt the goal that the proportion of black faculty and of administrators at each institution and on the staffs of each governing board, or any other state higher education entity, in positions not requiring the doctoral degree, shall at least equal the proportion of black students graduating with master's degrees from institutions within the state system, or the proportion of black individuals with the required credentials for such positions in the relevant labor market area, whichever is greater?

Yes, within the restrictive framework of the language of the criterion itself. Clearly, the state of Arkansas, and more specifically its statewide plan for desegregation, is only under the burden to do as well as the worst on both the local and national scenes. The major difficulty with this criterion is that it seems to assume that Arkansas has no particular responsibility to respect the needs of minorities unless others are doing it; when looked at on the local level, if no black graduates with the master's degree come out of an Arkansas institution, then the implementation of the plan may easily remain static. In other words, there is an educational fallacy here, which, in effect, holds that it is possible to do nothing, and therefore nothing will be required.

(19) Does the Plan adopt the goal that the proportion of black faculty and administrators at each institution and on the staffs of each governing board or any other state higher education entity, in positions requiring the doctoral degree, shall at least equal the proportion of black individuals with the credentials required for such positions in the relevant labor market area?

(20) Does the Plan adopt the goal that the proportion of black non-academic personnel (by job category) at each institution and on the staffs of each governing board or any other state higher education entity shall at least equal the proportion of black persons in the relevant labor market area?

(21) Does the Plan assure hereafter and until the foregoing goals are met that for the traditionally white institutions as a whole, the proportion of blacks hired to fill faculty and administrative vacancies shall not be less than the proportion of black individuals with the credentials required for such positions in the relevant labor market area?

(22) Does the Plan specify timetables for sequential implementation of the action necessary to achieve this objective, including interim benchmarks and goals from which progress toward the objective may be measured?

(23) Does the Plan commit the state system to taking specific measures to achieve these objectives?

(24) Does the Plan adopt the goal of increasing the numbers of black persons appointed to system-wide and institutional governing boards and agencies so that these boards may be more representative of the racial population of the state or of the area served?

The plan accepts both the commitment and the goal to meet the requirements set forth in criteria (19-24). Evidence indicates that the search goes forward. The clearinghouse concept has been utilized for non-academic personnel, and the regular search machinery has been put in motion for teachers and administrators. The State Board of Higher Education issued a statement on March 24, 1976, urging colleges and universities to make greater efforts to hire blacks. According to the Board, the recruitment of black staff lagged far behind the recruitment of black students.²⁸ During the height of preparation of the plan, Governor Pryor expressed the hope that within a short period, all boards would be desegregated. Ms. Corliss Howard was appointed to the State Board of Higher Education, and institutions had blacks elected to or appointed to their boards.²⁹

University of Arkansas officials accepted the plan for personnel mix but expressed concern about the recruitment process that would result from their search for blacks with the appropriate credentials.³⁰

Impact of the Plan on Higher Education in Arkansas

The development and implementation of the Arkansas plan for the desegregation of higher education will probably effect the following changes in the system: (1) establish a heritage of systematic planning; (2) increase the college-going population; (3) develop a multi-ethnic student body, staff, and other personnel; (4) leave blacks with a greater say in the operation of the system; (5) increase the knowledge of the benefits of special programs; and (6) improve the entire higher education delivery system.

SUMMARY

A careful evaluation of the Arkansas Statewide Plan for the Desegregation of Higher Education would suggest that the plan be given a high mark in light of HEW's criteria. The position taken here is that the plan on the whole represents an excellent starting point for the development of a system of higher education in Arkansas which operationally expresses itself through the principles of equity and educational feasibility.

A prior consideration to any kind of negative assessment of the Arkansas plan should be the more important question of the relevance and adequacy of the criteria. Simply put, the matter is this: Do the criteria raise the right questions? Do the criteria arise out of an understanding of individual and societal needs or do they simply raise questions as though higher education were divorced from the socio-economic status of the people it serves? Is it not easy to regard the criteria as legalistic assertions that deal with abstractions rather than the tougher questions of the need for and uses of educational expertise? While the expected educational master plan indicates a step in the way of educational planning, there is some question as to whether the developers of the plan fully utilized the opportunity afforded by the desegregation struggle to build a superior educational system.

Other questions which arise concerning the statewide plan are related to how broadly it is based on or anchored in the wishes of the Arkansas people. As indicated above, there are questions which may be raised about the role of UAPB. The presumption that if its role is not racially different from other institutions then all reasonable educational problems have been solved is misleading. What is needed is a role for UAPB which is not only equitable in relation to other institutions but also creatively progressive in relation to higher education.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 Arkansas Statewide Plan, (Revised 1977), p. 1.
- 2 Crystal C. Lloyd, "Adams V. Califano: A Case Study in the Politics of Regulation". Cambridge, Mass: Sloan Commission on Government and Higher Education. (Revised 1978).
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 A. S. Stephan, "Desegregation of Higher Education in Arkansas," Journal of Negro Education, XXVII, Summer, 1958, No. 3, pp. 243-4. Hereafter cited as Stephan, "Arkansas Desegregation".
- 5 Arkansas Statewide Plan, (Revised 1977), p. 10.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Stephan, "Arkansas Desegregation", pp. 246-7.
- 8 Ibid., pp. 248-9.
- 9 Arkansas Statewide Plan, (Revised, 1977), p. 7.
- 10 A critical summary of the socioeconomic condition of blacks in Arkansas may be found in the 1974 report of the Arkansas State Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights entitled Blacks in the Arkansas Delta.

- 11 For a structural and statistical summary of the governing scheme for higher education in Arkansas, see State Post-secondary Education Profiles Handbook's, 1978 edition, published by the Education Commission of the States, Denver, Colorado pp. 14-16.
- 12 The list on pages 41 to 45 will show the names of members by class of representation. The display on page 49 shows the distribution of the committee membership according to race and sex, and the map which follows on page 50 indicates the geographical home of each representative.
- 13 Source: Arkansas Statewide Plan: Implementation Status Report VI, pp. 65-66.
- 14 Interview with Dr. Olin Cook, Director the DHE for the State of Arkansas.
- 15 Arkansas Statewide Plan, (Revised, 1977) p. 2.
- 16 Implementation Status Report V, "Minutes of the Biracial Advisory Committee".
- 17 For a full discussion of the role and scope of the Human Relations Committees, see Implementation Status Report V, pp. 303-334.
- 18 Ibid., pp. 9-11.
- 19 Dorothy Stuck to David Pryor, August 4, 1975.
- 20 Ibid. passim.
- 21 Arkansas Statewide Plan (Revised 1977) pp. 10-11.
- 22 The merger was effected in 1972. Evidence of black opposition to the merger was expressed in a legal action filed by a coalition of blacks against the state. See Mollette V. Bumpers, filed in U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Arkansas, Western Division, July 11, 1972. This case remains to be fully adjudicated.

- 23 See Appendix A for the Criteria
- 24 The Arkansas Gazette, October 21, 1977, and The Arkansas Democrat, October 21, 1977.
- 25 The Arkansas Democrat, August 30, 1977.
- 26 The Arkansas Gazette, March 24, 1976.
- 27 The Commercial Appeal, March 10, 1976.
- 28 The Arkansas Gazette, September 17, 1977.

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The Arkansas Gazette, March 24, 1976.

The Commercial Appeal, March 10, 1976. Haynes, Leonard L., III, Compiler. A Critical Examination of the Adams Case: A Source Book, Washington, D.C.: Institute for Services to Education, Publishers, 1978.

Crystal C. Lloyd, Adams V Califano: A Case Study in the Politics of Regulation, Revised Ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Sloan Commission on Government and Higher Education, 1978).

Arkansas Statewide Plan, (Revised 1977), p. 1.

Letters:

11/10/73	HEW to Governor Dale Bumpers
4/11/74	OCR to Governor Bumpers
6/18/74	Governor Bumpers to OCR
7/19/74	OCR to Governor Bumpers
8/4/75	Dallas OCR Regional Office to David Pryor (Governor)

10/9/75	Governor David Pryor to Dallas OCR Regional Office Attachments I, II, III, IV, "Building a Human Relations Program, Arkansas Chronology"
1/26/78	State Board of Higher Education to OCR
5/22/78	Director, Department of Higher Education to OCR
1978	Institutional Commitments to the Arkansas Desegregation Plan

Interviewees

B. J. Lambert, Chairman, Arkansas State Board of Higher Education

Olin Cook, Director, Department of Higher Education

Adolph Reed, Professor, Political Science, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville

Corliss Howard, Member, Board Higher Education

Herman Smith, Chancellor, University of Arkansas-Pine Bluff

Lawrence Davis, Jr., Dean, University of Arkansas-Pine Bluff

Elijah Coleman, Arkansas Black Coalition, Little Rock, Arkansas

APPENDIX A

- The Criteria -

APPENDIX A**- The Criteria -**

1. Does the plan define the mission of each institution within the state system on a basis other than race?
2. Does the plan specify steps to be taken to strengthen the role of traditionally black institutions in the state system?
3. Does the plan commit the state to take specific steps to eliminate educationally unnecessary program duplication among traditionally black and traditionally white institutions in the same service area?
4. Does the plan commit the state to give priority consideration to placing any new undergraduate, graduate or professional degree programs, courses of study, etc., which may be proposed, at traditionally black institutions, consistent with their missions?
5. Does the plan commit the state to withhold approval of any changes in the operation of the state system or of any institutions that may have the effect of thwarting the achievement of its desegregation goals?
6. Does the plan commit the state to advise OCR of proposed major changes in the mission or the character of any institution within the state system which may directly or indirectly affect the achievement of its desegregation goals prior to their formal adoption?
7. Does the plan specify timetables for sequential implementation of the actions necessary to achieve these goals as soon as possible but no later than within five years (by the close of the academic year 1981-82), unless compelling justification for a longer period for compliance is provided to and accepted by the Department?

8. Does the plan commit the state and all its involved agencies and subdivisions to specific measures for achievement of the above objectives?
9. Does the plan adopt the goal that for two-year and four-year undergraduate public higher education institutions in the state system, taken as a whole, the proportion of black high school graduates throughout the state who enter such institutions shall be at least equal to the proportion of white high school graduates throughout the state who enter such institutions?
10. Does the plan adopt the goal that there shall be an annual increase, to be specified by each state system, in the proportion of black students in the traditionally white four-year undergraduate public higher education institutions in the state system taken as a whole and in each such institution?
11. Does the plan adopt the objective of reducing the disparity between the proportion of black high school graduates and the proportion of white high school graduates entering college (for the purposes of this subsection, the term "entering" includes first-time transfers from two-year and other institutions)?
12. Does the plan adopt the goal that the proportion of black state residents who graduate from undergraduate institutions in the state system and enter graduate study of professional schools in the state system shall be at least equal to the proportion of white state residents who graduate from undergraduate institutions in the state system and enter such schools?
13. Does the plan adopt the goal of increasing the total proportion of white students attending traditionally black institutions?

14. Does the plan commit the state to take all reasonable steps to reduce any disparity between the proportion of black and white students completing and graduating from the two-year, four-year and graduate public institutions of higher education, and establish interim goals, to be specified by the state system, for achieving annual progress?
15. Does the plan commit the state to expand mobility between two-year and four-year institutions as a means of meeting the goals set forth in these criteria?
16. Does the plan specify timetables for sequential implementation of actions necessary to achieve these goals as soon as possible but not later than within five years (by the close of the academic year 1981-82) unless another date is specified in this section?
17. Does the plan commit the state and all its involved agencies and subdivisions to specific measures to achieve these goals?
18. Does the plan adopt the goal that the proportion of black faculty and of administrators at each institution and on the staffs of each governing board, or any other state higher education entity, in positions not requiring the doctoral degree, shall at least equal the proportion of black students graduating with master's degrees from institutions within the state system, or the proportion of black individuals with the credentials required for such positions in the relevant labor market area, whichever is greater?
19. Does the plan adopt the goal that the proportion of black faculty and of administrators at each institution and on the staffs of each governing board or any other state higher education entity, in positions requiring the doctoral degree, shall at least equal the proportion of black individuals with the credentials required for such positions in the relevant labor market area?

20. Does the plan adopt the goal that the proportion of black non-academic personnel (by job category) at each institution and on the staffs of each governing board or any other state higher education entity shall at least equal the proportion of black persons in the relevant labor market area?
21. Does the plan assure hereafter and until the foregoing goals are met that for the traditionally white institutions as a whole, the proportion of blacks hired to fill faculty and administrative vacancies shall not be less than the proportion of black individuals with the credentials required for such positions in the relevant labor market area?
22. Does the plan specify timetables for sequential implementation of the action necessary to achieve this objective, including interim benchmarks and goals from which progress toward the objective may be measured?
23. Does the plan commit the state system to taking specific measures to achieve these objectives?
24. Does the plan adopt the goal of increasing the numbers of black persons appointed to systemwide and institutional governing boards and agencies so that these boards may be more representative of the racial population of the state of the area served?

APPENDIX B

**PROJECTED FALL ENROLLMENT:
ARKANSAS STATE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS**

APPENDIX B

Department of Higher Education Projected Fall Headcount Enrollment Arkansas State-Supported Colleges and Universities 1977/78 - 1982/83

FALL	UAF	UALR	UAM	UAPB	ATU	ASU	ASU-D	HSU	SAU	UCA	TOTAL
1977/78	13,019	9,879	1,718	3,051	2,480	7,468	881	3,408	2,004	5,126	49,034
1978/79	13,650	11,084	1,781	3,167	2,603	7,819	914	3,573	2,117	5,322	52,030
1979/80	13,731	11,553	1,784	3,231	2,635	7,887	828	3,581	2,124	5,378	52,732
1980/81	13,863	11,997	1,785	3,236	2,661	7,902	824	3,582	2,131	5,410	53,391
1981/82	13,990	12,538	1,782	3,203	2,695	7,933	835	3,588	2,133	5,455	54,152
1982/83	14,087	13,041	1,782	3,130	2,734	7,965	845	3,616	2,134	5,488	54,822

Sources: Arkansas Statewide Plan (Revised, 1977)

APPENDIX C

**DEPARTMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION
ENROLLMENT PROJECTIONS**

APPENDIX C

Department of Higher Education Projected Fall Headcount Enrollment Arkansas State-Supported Community Colleges 1977/78 - 1982/83

FALL	EACC	GCCC	MCCC	NACC	PCCC	SAU-ELD	SAU-STI	WCC
1977/78	1035	1613	1139	984	1626	457	434	3640
1978/79	1236	1750	1358	1157	1731	639	476	4097
1979/80	1320	1835	1506	1275	1788	766	491	4436
1980/81	1389	1966	1579	1374	1748	833	510	4838
1981/82	1442	2058	1582	1478	1721	901	533	5168
1982/83	1446	2145	1595	1520	1663	958	551	5417

Sources: Arkansas Statewide Plan (Revised, 1977)

APPENDIX D

**PROJECTED NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES
ARKANSAS STATE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS**

APPENDIX E

**PERCENT OF BLACKS IN
NON-ACADEMIC POSITIONS**

APPENDIX F

**BLACK REPRESENTATION ON HIGHER
EDUCATION BOARDS AND COMMISSIONS**

**AN ANALYSIS OF THE
GEORGIA STATEWIDE DESEGREGATION PLAN**

by

Robert Holmes

I

BACKGROUND

In 1969, Georgia was selected by HEW along with nine other states for higher education desegregation compliance review to determine whether the state was in violation of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. After completing its study of the University System of Georgia in the summer of 1969, HEW's Office for Civil Rights (OCR) informed the Board of Regents of the University System of Georgia on February 26, 1970, that it had failed to eliminate the vestiges of its former dual system of higher education and thus was in violation of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. HEW then requested Georgia to submit a plan to desegregate its system of public higher education.

In response to HEW's request, the Georgia Board of Regents on May 15, 1970, wrote OCR's Atlanta regional office. The Board's letter took issue with HEW's findings by noting that:

... Great strides in desegregating the university system (had been made) during the 1960's ... It, like the other main directions, has been a process of work and achievement rather than an exact plan of action.

As an example of racial progress in the system, the Board's letter cited that black enrollment at predominantly white institutions (PWI's) had gone from 454 to 3,000 between 1965 and 1970.

While the Board's response to HEW did not constitute a desegregation plan (as it lacked details regarding policies, programs, or goals to further desegregate the university system), OCR informed Georgia that its letter was an adequate response to the request for a plan. Later, OCR requested data describing actions which Georgia had taken since OCR's previous request (February, 1970) to eliminate vestiges of the state's former dual system of higher education. In making this request, OCR advised Georgia's higher education officials that they should "begin planning actions that may be required to comply with the law".¹

After Georgia responded to OCR's request, OCR notified Georgia's Board of Regents of its findings on May 19, 1973. Essentially, OCR's evaluation of Georgia's submission revealed that despite the progress experienced in the increase of black student enrollment in the system's predominantly white institutions (from 2.9% in 1970-71 to 4.7% in 1972-73) the dual system based on race had not yet been fully disestablished.

The results of OCR's examination indicated that black students were not enrolled in the system's PWI's in properly proportionate numbers (save for Georgia State University, which had a black student population of over 2,000, accounting for 11% of the institution's total enrollment).² On the one hand, with regard to faculty, OCR's findings revealed that 290 (or 88.4%) of the 328 full-time black faculty in the university system were at the system's three black colleges and that blacks constituted only .006% (30 of 4,857) of the faculties at the system's other four-year institutions. Moreover, the findings noted that the system's two-year colleges had not employed any black faculty members. On the other hand, the percentage of white faculty at the system's three black colleges ranged from 12.3% at Fort Valley to 28% at Albany State.

In addition to evaluating student and faculty data for the system, OCR criticized the Board of Regents for establishing three units of the university system in close proximity to the traditionally black institutions (TBI's) during the 1960's. For example, in 1962, the Regents purchased Armstrong College, a private two-year community college in Savannah, and elevated it to a four-year senior college in 1964. In 1966, the Board created

Albany Junior College (88.8% white in 1972-73). Macon Junior College (91.8% white), located near Fort Valley, was established in 1968. These actions were cited by OCR as evidence of Georgia's failure to adequately plan for viable desegregation of the TBI's, recruit non-black students, build new facilities, and expand their curricula. OCR stated that "desegregation would have been better served by upgrading and expanding the facilities at the black colleges to accommodate the junior college students". OCR further suggested that university-level institutions and the senior colleges should provide supportive services, where necessary, to minority students to assist them to successfully complete their education, and urged the Regents to broaden and enhance the programs at the TBI's and differentiate them from those of nearby PWI's. Finally, OCR required Georgia to take steps to end racial duality in public higher education by desegregating each institution in the system and developing timetables for implementing desegregation plans and taking yearly measures of progress against established goals. OCR noted that in developing and implementing its plan, the Board should require input from all segments of Georgia's citizenry.

During the summer of 1973, HEW developed a set of guidelines, "Basic Components of Statewide Higher Education Desegregation Plans," to be used in Georgia's and the five other Adams states' submissions of future desegregation plans. The new deadline was set for June 1, 1974, and Georgia sent three revised drafts, with the final one dated June 1. Georgia's plan was formally approved by HEW on July 19, 1974. Subsequently, the Board of Regents submitted semi-annual reports on January 1 and July 31, 1975 (and thereafter until January, 1977).

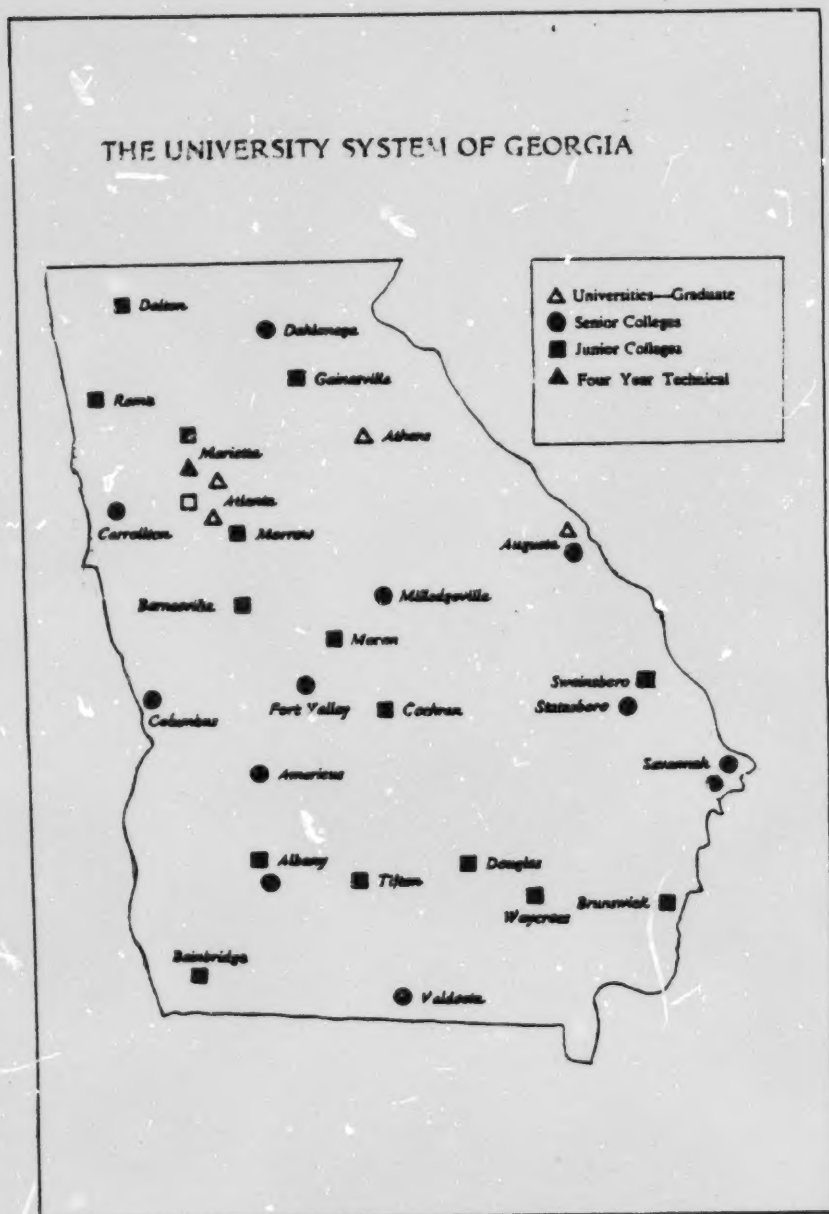
After reviewing Georgia's initial plan and progress reports, the Legal Defense Fund (LDF) returned to court and filed a summary motion, alleging that HEW had failed to enforce the court's order to enforce Title VI. The Fund asserted that the plans submitted by Georgia and the other Adams states should be thrown out and that more specific requirements be given to the states for redrafting their desegregation plans.

LDF charged that the state of Georgia had shown little progress toward desegregation and that some colleges there had

regressed. Specific criticisms leveled by LDF included the following:

- (1) Georgia's desegregation plan was not a comprehensive, statewide plan, but was done on a college-by-college basis.
- (2) The Regents refused to include all 32 units of the university system in their long-range assessment of program duplication.
- (3) Georgia omitted all university system auxiliary services (such as agriculture and engineering extension, experiment stations, marine research, etc.) from its plan, despite HEW's specific request that they be included. (Approximately one-fifth of Georgia's higher education budget is spent by these agencies.)
- (4) HEW accepted the Board's minority student recruitment program, which the OCR itself had said included "unproven and ineffective measures to increase black enrollment".
- (5) The plan ignored Fort Valley's land-grant status and failed to provide adequate resources to enable the institution to fulfill its mission in research, training and extension work in agriculture and related areas.
- (6) Special studies programs differed greatly in their quality from college to college in the system.
- (7) The Rising Junior Test (a test designed to measure cognitive skills of college students) was left out of the plan. Further, the plan made no attempt to explain the test's validity or its impact on black opportunity or advancement in the university system.³

HEW challenged the LDF action and raised questions about whether the courts had the authority to reject or approve desegregation plans from states not actually a party to a suit. The



APPENDIX D

Projected Number of Employees
Arkansas State-Supported Colleges and Universities

Institution	Actual	Projected	
	1976/77	1979/80	1982/83
Arkansas State University	856	949	959
Arkansas State University-Beebe	84	86	88
Arkansas Tech University	284	304	316
Henderson State University	403	493	497
Southern Arkansas University	242	263	264
University of Arkansas at Fayetteville	3,633	3,873	3,976
University of Arkansas at Little Rock	788	1,034	1,189
University of Arkansas at Monticello	233	241	241
University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff	493	522	506
University of Central Arkansas	389	633	648
East Arkansas Community College	112	207	227
Garland County Community College	123	160	187
Mississippi County Community College	82	166	175
North Arkansas Community College	122	219	264
Phillips County Community College	163	202	188
Southern Arkansas University at Dorado	21	33	66
Southern Arkansas University-Southwest Tech Institute	61	68	77
Westark Community College	272	369	430

Source: Arkansas Statewide Plan (Revised, 1977)

APPENDIX E

Percent of Blacks in Non-Academic Positions by Category
and Schools As of 1976/77 (EEO-6 Forms)
Full and Part Time

Institution	Professional Non-Faculty	Clerical/ Secre.	Tech Paraprof.	Skilled Crafts	Service Maintenance
Arkansas State University	8.5%	2.1%	8.3%	0.0%	7.0%
Arkansas State University-Beebe	0.0%	8.3%	n/a	n/a	9.4%
Arkansas Tech University	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	23.6%
Department of Higher Education	n/a	30.0%	0.0%	n/a	n/a
East Arkansas Community College	50.0%	23.0%	n/a	n/a	75.0%
Garland County Community College	14.0%	12.5%	n/a	n/a	66.7%
Henderson State University	4.5%	13.7%	30.0%	0.0%	34.0%
Mississippi County Community College	0.0%	13.3%	n/a	n/a	0.0%
North Arkansas Community College	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Phillips County Community College	30.0%	5.9%	n/a	n/a	92.8%
Southern Arkansas University	12.5%	0.0%	20.0%	14.3%	86.5%
Southern Arkansas University-El Dorado	0.0%	0.0%	n/a	n/a	none listed
Southwest Technical Institute-SAU	n/a	12.5%	n/a	0.0%	72.0%
University of Arkansas at Fayetteville	11.8%	4.3%	8.1%	0.0%	2.9%
University of Arkansas at Little Rock	0.0%	10.9%	11.5%	0.0%	27.0%
University of Arkansas at Monticello	0.0%	9.3%	0.0%	0.0%	50.0%
University of Arkansas Medical Sci. Campus	7.3%	15.3%	30.0%	9.8%	74.0%
University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff	n/a	97.3%	n/a	n/a	100.0%
University of Central Arkansas	10.0%	4.6%	0.0%	6.7%	23.7%
Westark Community College	16.6%	2.9%	0.0%	0.0%	50.0%

Source: Arkansas Statewide Plan (Revised, 1977)

**Black Representation on Higher Education
Boards and Commissions in Arkansas, 1977**

Board or Commission	Number of Members	Black Members	Percent Black
Arkansas State University Board of Trustees	5	1	20
Arkansas Tech University Board of Trustees	5	1	20
East Arkansas Community College Board of Trustees ³	9	2	22
Garland County Community College Board of Trustees ³	9	2	22
Henderson State University Board of Trustees	7	1	14
Mississippi County Community College Board of Trustees ³	9	2	22
North Arkansas Community College Board of Trustees ³	9	0	00
Phillips County Community College Board of Trustees ³	9	1	11
Southern Arkansas University			
Board of Trustees	5	0	00
SAU-E Advisory Committee ¹	7	1	14
STI Advisory Committee	9	1	11
University of Arkansas			
Board of Trustees	10	1	10
UALR Board of Visitors ²	15	1	7
UAPB Board of Visitors ²	7	6	86
University of Central Arkansas Board of Trustees ³	7	1	14
Westark Community College Board of Trustees ³	9	0	00
State Board of Higher Education	10	1	10
Postsecondary Education Planning Commission ⁴	15	2	13

¹ Advisory to the Southern Arkansas University Board of Trustees.

² Advisory to the University of Arkansas Board of Trustees.

³ Community College boards are elected from within the community college districts.

⁴ Consists of the State Board of Higher Education augmented by five members.

Source: Arkansas Statewide Plan (Revised, 1977)

agency also contended that, contrary to LDF's charge, it had followed Judge Pratt's and the Circuit Court of Appeals' 1973 orders. After additional legal maneuvering by HEW and LDF, Judge Pratt finally held a hearing in January, 1977, on LDF's motion and subsequently issued a new directive in April, 1977, which resulted in HEW's development of new criteria for the Adams states to follow in developing their statewide desegregation plans. Under the new guidelines, the Board of Regents, as the governing body responsible for public higher education in Georgia, prepared and submitted to HEW on September 2, 1977, a desegregation plan entitled, A Plan for the Further Desegregation of the University System of Georgia.

Nature of the Social Scene

Georgia is regarded as one of the more moderate of the Adams states on the desegregation issue. The state's identification with moderation is probably attributable to the overall progress that has been experienced by blacks, especially in the political arena (i.e., city of Atlanta). Despite progress made, few would argue the fact that a residue of racism remains ingrained in the state's approach to solving racial problems. Higher education desegregation is no exception.

The Board of Regents of the university system of Georgia functions as the single governing board for all public higher education in the state, and is the body responsible for developing and implementing the state's desegregation plan. Established in 1931, the Board's structure and responsibility have not been amended since that time. The Regents consist of 15 members (10 from congressional districts and five at large) appointed by the governor with the consent of the Senate. All members represent the general public and serve staggered seven-year terms of office.

The Board has statutory responsibility for higher education planning, and for the coordination of institutional budget review. Such reviews include the recommendations for a consolidated budget and program approval over 15 public junior colleges, 13 senior colleges and 4 university-level institutions. (See

Figure 2.) Three of the senior colleges -- Albany State, Fort Valley, and Savannah State -- are historically black. Georgia does not have a Secretary of Education, and the Regents do not function as a cabinet department. The executive officer of the board, or chancellor, is assisted by a staff of 13, all of whom are appointed by the Board and serve at its pleasure. Because it is an independent body, the Board receives an annual lump sum appropriation from the Georgia legislature to support system operations. The Board determines how such funds are expended at each of its constituent units. Further, the Board determines employment policy, program development and alignment, land acquisition and physical plant development, and all general and specific policies relating to the operation of the university system.

Although the Board receives a lump sum appropriation from the legislature, the legislature, like the Governor, has not been directly involved in the desegregation process. Thus, the Board has complete control of public higher education in the state.

The Fort Valley Stimulant

In 1975, the legislative Black Caucus of the Georgia House of Representatives formed a University System Oversight Committee to examine the problems raised by the demands for desegregation in the system's black colleges. This writer served as Chairman of the committee which visited the institutions and met with faculty, presidents, administrators, HEW officials, and the staff of the Board of Regents. The basic concerns examined and problems observed centered around the fear expressed by the state's black community that the three black colleges of the system would either be closed or merged with the predominantly white public institutions.

Part of the Oversight Committee's function has involved examining the issues which led to the filing of legal actions involving Fort Valley State College, the state's black land-grant college.⁵ Located in a predominantly white rural community in the middle portion of the state, the college was viewed by the local community as a political force that influenced the

outcomes of local elections. The legal actions brought against Fort Valley in Federal Court alleged that (1) the college had discriminated against the hiring of whites in faculty and administrative positions; and (2) that the college's administration was attempting to prevent integration of the college by lowering academic standards and permitting unqualified students to graduate. The presiding Judge, Robert Owen, issued an order on March 22, 1973, requiring the Board of Regents to present a plan to eliminate the racial identity of Fort Valley State College and upgrade its "academically inferior programs". The Board of Regents responded to the Court's request on July 2, 1973, by submitting a desegregation plan for Fort Valley State College. This plan drew heavily on the work that later went into the preparation of their statewide plan, submitted to HEW in 1974.

The Court rejected the Regents' plan for desegregating Fort Valley because it felt that the Regents did not deal enough with specifics. A revised plan was subsequently submitted by the Regents in 1975 and accepted by the Court.

The Oversight Committee's analysis of the Fort Valley Court action revealed that while the 1975 plan marked an improvement, the plan in effect did not make constructive attempts to strengthen and enhance Fort Valley State College. For example, the plan did not adequately address the following observed deficiencies noted by the Committee:

- (1) Lack of funds necessary to maintain old and implement new programs.
- (2) Inadequate facilities, laboratories, and grounds.
- (3) Encouragement of duplicative efforts at nearby white institutions to compete with Fort Valley.

The Fort Valley case heightened the concern within the black community that the concept of desegregation held by the Regents and other state officials implied that the system's black colleges would be either phased out or eliminated altogether.

The concern over the future of the system's black colleges and the demands for desegregation led a group of concerned Georgians to form the Georgia Black Coalition on Higher Education. The primary purpose of this body was to monitor the Board of Regents' activities. In this regard, the coalition decided to: (a) critique the desegregation plan and progress reports; (b) discuss and make recommendations to the Regents; and (c) inform and educate the public regarding desegregation of the university system. In December, 1976, the Coalition, in cooperation with the Southern Education Foundation, held a conference in Atlanta on "The Future of Georgia's Predominantly Black State Colleges". Among the invited participants were Vice Chancellor John Hooper, the Regents' staff person with primary responsibility for preparing Georgia's desegregation plans since 1974. While Hooper accepted the invitation to participate, he informed the conference sponsors prior to the meeting that he would be unable to attend because of a "personal business" commitment. However, many key persons did attend the meeting, including the presidents and several faculty members and alumni of the system's black colleges, a black member of the Board of Regents, an OCR regional official, black legislators, a representative from the Legal Defense Fund, and other individuals concerned with black participation in Georgia's higher education system.⁶ The articulation of concerns expressed by the Coalition about the desegregation process constituted an important element in the environment in which Georgia's statewide plans had been nurtured and prepared.

The following pages of this analysis examine, within an environmental context, the decision-making process governing the development and preparation of Georgia's desegregation plan. The analytic model (as indicated in the general introduction) used to examine the planning process will help the reader to better understand Georgia's approach to statewide desegregation and the impact of this approach on the present and future direction of the state's higher educational system.

II

METHODOLOGY

Conceptual Framework

Essentially, the following analysis attempts to describe the decision-making process which has led to the development of Georgia's statewide desegregation plan mandated by the Adams Order of April 1, 1977. To facilitate the examination, the analyst followed, when possible, the conceptual framework or model described in the general introduction for explaining and interpreting desegregation in Georgia. In brief, this analysis examines the major inputs that have gone into the planning process. Once this has been described, the discussion centers on presenting indications of how those inputs are reflected in the state's plan.

The plan itself undergoes examination in order to ascertain its probable impact on higher education in Georgia and whether it expresses a new educational philosophy for the state. The analysis also examines, within the plan, the special case of the black college and whether the plan as feedback meets the federal test (e.g., HEW's criteria) and the objectives of the litigation.

Data Collection

Data used in the analysis were acquired by examining the documents developed by Georgia in response to desegregation demands.⁷ These documents included the University System (the official monthly publication of the Board of Regents); correspondence between the Directors of OCR and the Chan-

cellor of the University System; the June 1, 1974, desegregation plan and semi-annual progress reports (dated January 1 and July 1, 1976, and January 1, 1977); the new desegregation plan submitted September 2, 1977; the supplements of December 5, 1977 and March 6, 1978; minutes of the public hearing held in May and June, 1978, by the three Community Liaison Committees for the Albany, Fort Valley-Macon and Savannah areas on the future of public black colleges; and reports of the Liaison Committees and the Board of Regents Work Committees on the Desegregation of the University System. Alternative desegregation plans, submitted by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the Georgia Conference on Open Education (GCOE), and the Faculty of Savannah State College, were also examined. Data and other pertinent information were also obtained from the Atlanta Constitution, the Atlanta Inquirer, and the Atlanta Journal. In addition to examining pertinent documents, data and information were also obtained through the conduct of interviews with members of the Board of Regents and their staff, legislators, presidents of system institutions, HEW officials, and members of the Black Coalition on Higher Education in Georgia⁸

Time Frame

Although the analysis focuses on the period from January 1, 1977 to September 1, 1978, attention is also given to the major events of 1975 which led to the promulgation of HEW's criteria. The September date was chosen for concluding the analysis because it marked the deadline established by HEW for the Board of Regents to complete its report on the future of the system's three black colleges.

Scope

While the desegregation process is dynamic in the sense that it knows no boundary in time, this analysis stops with the period September, 1978. The September dates mark the resubmission of the Georgia plan. Consequently, the analysis may focus

on subjects and issues that have since either been elevated in importance or relegated to lower priority as the desegregation process continues. As a result, the examination, at some points, may appear to be dated, though in essence it provides a historical summary of the process.⁹

The limitations of using analytic models were presented in the general introduction, and those points should be kept in mind when considering this analysis. In this instance, the model attempts to describe the major elements of the decision-making process, and how this process has led to the development of the Georgia desegregation plan.

Another limitation of the study involves the lack of statistical data utilized in the analysis. The employment of statistical analysis to explain and interpret the desegregation process in Georgia, while crucial to an examination of a state plan, was not used in this instance because the writer and editor felt that it was difficult to ascertain the reliability of the data presented in the plan. Rather, emphasis is placed on the issues and events leading to the promulgation of the state's desegregation plan.

III

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PLAN

On September 1, 1977, Georgia submitted its statewide desegregation plan to HEW. The plan submitted by Georgia followed the criteria established by HEW in response to the Adams Order of April 1, 1977. What kinds of input and what major actors were involved in the decision-making process which led to the September plan are the focus of the first part of this analysis.

The response to the inquiries above begins with the identification of the major individuals having input into Georgia's desegregation planning process. They represent the following categories: the State (e.g., Board of Regents); HEW; the Legal Defense Fund; and community interest groups (e.g., Black Coalition and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference).

Organizational and Institutional Inputs

What, then, was the nature of the input of the actors identified and how can this be characterized? Was it supportive of the process?

The Legal Defense Fund (LDF)

Because LDF represents the plaintiffs in the Adams case, this body has had significant influence in the directions the planning of the desegregation process has taken in Georgia and other Adams states. For example, during the period between the issuance of Judge Pratt's January Order and HEW's adoption

of the new guidelines on July 1, 1977, LDF initiated a series of meetings and discussions with persons and groups interested in shaping the new criteria. Some of the groups involved in these discussions included the Black Coalition on Higher Education in the Adams states and the Southern Education Foundation's Working Party (persons with knowledge of the 1974 plans and subsequent developments following their acceptance by HEW).¹⁰

The aim of LDF's sponsored meetings was to air the organization's concerns about what the new criteria should contain regarding governance, student admissions, recruitment and retention, faculty and staff employment, and how to enhance the historically black public institutions. As a result of LDF's input, HEW's criteria address LDF's basic concerns¹¹ and thus have influenced the decision-making process leading to the development of Georgia's plan.

HEW

HEW, of course, is responsible for carrying out the Adams mandate by insuring that the Adams states' plans meet the criteria; its Office for Civil Rights has direct responsibility for either accepting or rejecting the plans under the criteria. Thus, HEW, through the Office for Civil Rights, has had significant input into the continuing development of Georgia's state-wide plans.

State Authorities

The main input into the planning process from the state level has come from the Georgia Board of Regents, the agency responsible for higher education in the state. After receipt of HEW's criteria on July 2, 1977, the Board appointed a special five-person drafting committee on the desegregation plan. This committee, assisted by Board staff, was charged with the preparation of the plan.

Other state authorities having input into the process included the University System Committee of the Georgia House of Representatives and the Governor's office. Relative to the Board, however, the involvement of others was of a comparatively minor character.

Community Interest Groups

Since the advent of the Adams litigation, concerned groups of Georgia citizens have made their presence known in the decision-making process leading to the development of the plans. Some of the groups having significant input in the process have been the Georgia Black Coalition, the Georgia Conference on Open Education, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Conversion of Inputs: The Submission of the Plan

Upon receipt of HEW's new criteria on July 2, 1977, and the subsequent July 5 letter of explanation from the Office for Civil Rights, the Board of Regents initiated the development of the statewide desegregation plan. The Board's first major action involved the establishment of a special five-person committee to draft the new desegregation plan; the committee was chaired by the Board's Vice Chancellor.

On July 27, the Board of Regents met with the members of the University System Committee of the Georgia House of Representatives. The purpose of the meeting was to review HEW's criteria and discuss steps that the state would take to meet the new desegregation plans. Once the meeting began, however, much of the discussion centered around the concern that, if Georgia should comply with the guidelines, the hiring of black faculty and increasing black student enrollment at the predominantly white institutions might "destroy" the University System.

The Board's Desegregation Drafting Committee held three separate open public meetings, on August 10, 17 and 19, to

discuss the preparation of the plan. The format for each meeting included the Vice Chancellor's presentation and explanation of a draft of a section of the new plan, followed by a discussion from the Committee and the public.

Because of the time assigned the state to write its plan, the Regents' committee relied heavily upon data used in the 1974 plan and the semi-annual progress reports to prepare its draft document for submission to HEW. After completing a draft plan, the Committee presented it to the full Board at a special August 26 meeting. The Board adopted the draft unanimously. In explaining the document, the Board's Drafting Committee indicated there was no need to apologize to HEW for using the 1974 plan (which Judge Pratt ruled unacceptable) as a starting point, "because significant progress has been achieved under the plan". Furthermore, the Committee felt the plan met HEW's criteria and had been prepared in good faith, but "with an eye on sound educational principles (of) maintaining educational quality in higher education in Georgia."¹² The Chairman of the Board and Georgia's governor signed and submitted the Georgia Plan to HEW on September 1, 1977.

Since the Georgia desegregation plan was largely a compilation and summarization of documents previously ruled unacceptable by Judge Pratt, it was not unexpected that the OCR would criticize the plan. However, the Director of OCR, on October 19, sent a memorandum to the Board's Chancellor stating that, while HEW was "impressed with the hard, dedicated and thoughtful work" which had gone into the preparation of the plan, the plan contained numerous shortcomings. OCR noted that the plan lacked details regarding the specific actions Georgia pledged to undertake to eliminate the vestiges of the former dual system of higher education and that the plan referred to steps taken in the past, but said nothing about new measures to meet the criteria. Additional criticisms of the plan noted in OCR's letter included:

- (1) The failure of the plan to discuss ways to strengthen and enhance the system's black colleges.

(2) The plan's failure to discuss the Board's plans to eliminate program duplication and mission overlap among the system's senior and junior colleges.

(3) Georgia's failure to withhold approval of changes other than capital funds outlay which might thwart desegregation goals required by the criteria. However, the plan did commit the state to develop impact statements on the likely effects of proposed changes on desegregation of the university system.¹³

(4) The Regents' failure to explain their current programs for desegregation, especially future actions the Board would take to enhance the black colleges.

(5) The plan's failure to include projections for 1982 concerning recruitment efforts to ensure that the number of first-year black students entering junior and senior colleges would be proportionate to the number of white high school graduates entering college.

(6) The "unacceptably low" projections of white students expected to attend the system's black colleges, listed by the plan after 1979.

(7) The plan's failure to make a general commitment to increasing the number of black employees through development and implementation of affirmative action plans.

(8) The plan's lack of commitment to increasing the number of black staff and members of the governing board of the university system.

(9) The failure of the Regents to make commitments to establish bi-racial citizens' advisory/monitoring committees to assist them in the implementation of the desegregation plan.

The Director of OCR concluded his letter by noting that the plan could serve as "a basis for discussion about its revision".

In that regard, the Director scheduled a meeting between the Regents' Desegregation Drafting Committee and OCR's Director of the Division of Higher Education for Tuesday, October 25, 1977.

Prior to OCR's October 19 communication, a bi-racial group, calling itself the Georgia Conference on Open Education (GCOE), wrote a 166-page alternative plan for submission to the Regents and HEW.¹⁴ Members of the group were made up primarily of students and faculty from Atlanta Junior College, Georgia State University and the University of Georgia. The chief author of the plan was Dr. Vernon Stone, a Professor of Education at Georgia State. GCOE's spokesperson was Modibo Kadalie, an Instructor of Political Science at Atlanta Junior College. Kadalie, who had appeared before the Board at several meetings to advocate eliminating the Rising Junior Test and giving credit for special studies courses, characterized the Regents' plan as "no plan at all". OCR's regional chief said he would read the plan and take it with him to the meeting between the Regents and HEW officials in Washington, D.C., on October 25th.

The alternative desegregation plan presented by GCOE contained thirty-five recommendations which followed HEW's guidelines. These recommendations included:

- (1) Establishing a policy of "open admissions" to allow any high school graduate to enter any state college or university unit.
- (2) Upgrading and enhancing the TBI's by the creation of a university-level institution in the Macon area to be run by the Fort Valley State administration and staff, and one in Savannah to be operated by Savannah State.
- (3) Conversion of all junior colleges to community college status, controlled by locally elected boards.

- (4) Establishing a goal of 42,600 black students in the system by 1982, instead of the Regents' projected goal of 29,988.
- (5) Setting the proportionate black student enrollment at 30 percent for the PMI's, instead of 20 percent as recommended in the state plan.
- (6) Abolition of all standardized tests as criteria for admission to any graduate or professional unit of the system.

With respect to the desegregation of faculty, administrative staffs, non-academic personnel and governing boards, the GCOE cited Regents' data which it claimed showed the affirmative action commitment to be "a sham and a cover for the continuation of racist policies and practices, dating back to the era of legal segregation". For example, GCOE cited Regents' data showing only 44 of 3,288 faculty (1.3 percent) at the university level units to be black in 1976. At one of the units, the University of Georgia, only 1.2 percent of the faculty and 1.6 percent of the administration were black. GCOE's plan suggested that the Board "aggressively pursue desegregation goals rather than thwarting and retarding them" by calling for:

- (1) popular election of the Board of Regents by congressional districts in order to make them responsive to the people;
- (2) ensuring that the Regents' staff reflect more closely the racial composition of the state (25 percent black);
- (3) the setting of immediate and specific goals for increasing black faculty members at all the PWI's, beginning with the university-level units. (It was pointed out that the TBI's were the only institutions in the system with racially integrated faculties);
- (4) the establishment of a bi-racial monitoring committee for the adopted state plan.

There was no indication that either the Regents or HEW gave serious consideration to the recommendations contained in the GCOE document. However, this alternative plan reflected the sentiments of a growing, vocal element of blacks and whites in Georgia who advocated drastic and immediate changes in the operation of the university system. On December 15, 1977, the Board's Chancellor responded to the questions posed in OCR's October 19 communication. He also sent the Regents' response to the issues raised at the October 25 meeting between the Regents' Desegregation Committee, other Board staff, and HEW officials.

Concerning the geographical dispersion and dual structural nature of the system, the Board asserted that it sought to make accessible at least two years of college within reasonable commuting distance of all who desired a postsecondary educational experience. The Board's Chancellor noted that this policy was largely responsible for the 12,662¹⁵ black student enrollment (out of a total of 19,416) at units other than the system's black colleges and that, with few exceptions, student preferences for attending college were largely influenced by geographic locations. The Board's letter indicated that any basic changes in the structure of the system or in the comprehensive revision of the generic program of the senior colleges (each of which was almost identical in scope and programs) "would have to be preceded by overwhelming evidence that such modifications were warranted on educational, fiscal, accessibility and management grounds."

The Regents were not amenable to making significant changes in senior colleges. Regarding Savannah State and Armstrong State Colleges, the Regents stated that the long-term inappropriateness of maintaining the situation is evident, but that the short- and intermediate-term interests of the Savannah State College and Armstrong State College constituencies would have to be considered. In the opinion of this writer, this was another way of saying that political expediency was preventing the Board from making decisions along educational lines. The Chancellor provided current and projected statistical data on enrollment in the existing and proposed joint or cooperative programs between the two institutions.¹⁶ He also noted that the Board was considering the introduction

of a new marine biology program at Savannah State and that Albany State would be offering graduate studies in teacher education in six (6) disciplines in 1979.¹⁷

In responding to HEW's request for more specifics regarding Georgia's plans for enhancing the system's black colleges, the Chancellor noted that an exhaustive account of fiscal, physical, management and academic assistance which would be provided to strengthen the historically black institutions is not practical. The Chancellor said he was refusing to provide HEW the detailed information it had requested. He did mention, however, that technical assistance had been provided by the Regents' staff to the institutions, and that in recent years the funding of the black colleges had increased at disproportionately higher levels than at comparable senior colleges.

The Chancellor's letter spoke to the desegregation of the student body and included projections of enrollments by institution and race between 1977-1982. It charged that the number of blacks enrolled in graduate and professional schools in most disciplines corresponded closely to the proportion of baccalaureate degrees earned. However, the Board said it could not make commitments to admissions levels for holders of Bachelor's degrees. The Board did make a commitment to secure \$500,000 for fellowships to aid economically disadvantaged students in selected disciplines where minorities are traditionally underrepresented.¹⁸

The Regents' commitment to desegregation of faculty, staff and the Board itself was limited to a pledge to continue to employ "all tools found to be effective thus far ..." to desegregate the university system. The Regents contended that each unit is charged with developing and implementing its own affirmative action program based on general guidelines in the Regents' 1975 policy. No specific goals, target dates or even comments about the effort to date were specified. As the above indicates, the Board's record in this regard has been less than exemplary.

Milton Jones, Chairman of the Desegregation Drafting Committee (and Chairman of the Board since 1978), maintained that the Regents believed the Board's response to be satis-

factory. But a letter from HEW on January 5 led to several conferences and discussions wherein significant problems with the plan were made evident. Regent Jones explained, "We felt like, perhaps for the first time, that we were in some significant difficulty with HEW as to whether or not the plan would be accepted. Up until then we had a good feeling, but in January we began not to have that good feeling for it". He said HEW focused most of its attention on the organization of the system and the plans for the TBI's. Negotiations continued throughout January, 1978, between the Regents' Committee and staff and HEW. According to Jones, the parties were close to agreeing on an acceptable plan, when an OCR staffer flew to Washington on January 30 to report the progress being made. He was to return to Atlanta on Wednesday, February 1, to complete the draft plan. When the staffer arrived in Washington, he discovered that HEW Secretary Joseph Califano had scheduled a press conference for Thursday morning at 10 a.m., on February 2nd, to make an announcement concerning the Adams states' desegregation plans. This action precluded the staffer's planned return trip to Atlanta on Wednesday. A very disappointed Chairman of the Regents' Desegregation Drafting Committee, Milton Jones, described this incident as follows:

He (the OCR staffer) knew that we would be in compliance. We knew it and no one was all that concerned, although we were remorseful in Georgia and tried our best to get him to come back Wednesday anyway, because we frankly did not want the adverse publicity in the national media for having Georgia with a plan that was not in compliance. But they seemed to think there was some magic in the Thursday date.¹⁹

Jones said he believed Califano had until Monday, February 6, to make a decision on the plan. According to the HEW Secretary, Judge Pratt had set a deadline of February 3 to accept or reject the plans and he explained that Georgia's plan did not meet the requirements set by HEW. Califano expressed

optimism about a solution, but noted that if negotiations did not prove fruitful, the result could be the termination of all HEW funds to the state's educational institutions. He said the first step in such a process would be to hold up any new grant application from Georgia that would contribute to the continuation of segregation, excepting student financial aid.

According to Jones, during the next two months of meetings and negotiations, HEW officials "seemed to lock-in on the three historically black colleges and what we're going to do regarding them". Jones felt that HEW was more interested in what was going on at the system's black colleges than what was going on in the other institutions of the system. As a result of these meetings, the Board agreed to study ways to strengthen the TBI's and to eliminate unnecessary duplication of programs at nearby PWI's. The report was to be completed by July 1, and the Board promised to submit its plans for the TBI's to OCR after its August 9 meeting. There were three geographical groupings of colleges targeted for study.²⁰

Group I

Albany State College
 Albany Junior College
 Georgia Southwestern College
 Columbus College
 Fort Valley State College
 Valdosta State College

Group II

Fort Valley State College
 Macon Junior College
 Gordon Junior College
 Middle Georgia College
 Georgia College
 Columbus College
 Albany State College

Group III

Savannah State College
Armstrong State College
Georgia Southern College

The Regents agreed to examine the above institutions and carry out the following tasks: (1) define the mission of the colleges on a basis other than race by level, program and degree offerings; (2) define the principal geographical area served by each unit; (3) project the size and racial composition of the student bodies, faculties, administrators and staff at each institution from 1978-1982; (4) identify the programs for specialization, realignment or elimination at each unit; (5) consider alternatives for the restructuring of the TBI's; (6) detail an assessment of physical plant and operating resources needs; and (7) design a schedule of action and projected costs of actions up to 1982-83.

Five options were outlined for study and consideration in determining the future of the TBI's and the three PWI's in the immediate vicinity:

- (1) Merger of the two institutions.
- (2) Specialization of the colleges by allowing one to teach lower division courses, with the other offering upper and graduate level classes.
- (3) Formation of lower division branch campuses.
- (4) Installation of unique programs at the black institutions and phasing out of duplicate programs at the white colleges in the area.
- (5) Other options or combinations revealed in the study.

The Regents made it clear, however, that they would decide which, if any, changes recommended in the study would be implemented.

The March 6 addendum to the plan pledged the governing body to acquire broad public input concerning the five options to achieve desegregation. Two mechanisms were created by Chancellor George Simpson to achieve this purpose: (1) three community liaison groups -- one each for the Albany, Fort Valley-Macon and Savannah areas; and (2) three work groups -- one for each of the three pairs of TBI's and PWI's. Each liaison committee was to include the following membership: two Regents; two alumni association presidents; two student body presidents; two faculty members; and four lay persons from the affected area --two black and two white. The committee was to be responsible for eliciting public input concerning the five options cited above at public hearings and to draft a report to the Regents which would include its recommendations on the course of action to be taken. The work group was composed of administrators and faculty appointed by the presidents of the six concerned institutions. Its function was to examine curricula, programs, and costs of the various options and to provide the Liaison Committee with a report containing its suggestions about the option which should be implemented.

The Board's letter to OCR committed the Regents to a number of specific items which had been requested by OCR in its October 19 communication. The Regents agreed to give priority consideration to the application by the TBI's for establishment of new degree programs and to a consideration of applications from the PWI's in terms of whether further desegregation was being promoted. It promised to withhold approval of "substantive changes" which would thwart desegregation goals and advise OCR in advance of major changes which might affect desegregation goals. However, in doing this, the Board reasserted its prerogative, saying, "In all instances, decision-making authority would rest with the Board of Regents". In addition to these pledges, the Regents responded directly to a number of requests for specific data to be included in the revised plan under three broad categories.

Regarding ending the dual structure, the plan committed Georgia to increase black student enrollment in the system from 4 to 20 percent by 1982-83, including an increase of 8 percent at the PWI's. The Board took the position that projections and goals were not the same as rigid quotas and sought to "qualify" its commitment, saying, "It is further understood that no finding of non-compliance will be made if a goal is not met, so long as good faith efforts which are educationally sound were made to achieve it". The Board added that efforts to meet the criteria should not lead to the lowering of academic standards. In other words, the Board tried to make it clear to HEW that it did not expect to be held accountable if the goals were not met and that the objectives would not be met, if steps necessary to achieve them were deemed to lower educational standards.

Concerning recruitment and retention of students at post-baccalaureate levels, the Board noted that an equal proportion of black and white students entered graduate school, but that black students remained underrepresented in several academic areas. To remedy this situation, the Board promised to ask the Georgia legislature in 1978 to appropriate \$500,000 in special scholarship monies to increase the enrollment of minorities and socially disadvantaged students in fields where their numbers were small, and \$250,000 to fund special programs to encourage minority student participation in medicine and allied health fields.²¹

In the area of desegregation of faculty, administrative staff, nonacademic personnel and the governing board, the Regents only made a general commitment to continue support of its own Affirmative Action Program (AAP) of 1975 and to increase the number of black employees at each institution in accordance with goals, timetables and steps adopted by each institution. The Board explained to HEW that it would make every effort to recruit black employees, but that there were many difficulties in meeting projections, or federal criteria and regulations relating to hiring goals and/or non-discrimination, based on religion, sex (Title IX of Education Act), handicap or age (Title V of Rehabilitation and Older American Act of 1975), and the giving of special attention to disabled veterans. Since enrollment in the university system was expected to decline during the next few years (or at best remain the same), and since

there had been an unusually high level of faculty stability and infrequent staff turnover in many categories, and since mandatory retirement age was being extended by federal and state laws, few vacancies were expected and even fewer new positions were anticipated between 1978-1983. Therefore, it was concluded, it would be very difficult to find enough positions for blacks to meet the goals that might be outlined in each unit's affirmative action program. The Board promised to continue to recruit minority faculty and staff, primarily through the use of the University System Application Clearinghouse (USACH) and the minority applicant exchange program with Florida's Office of Personnel and Faculty Relations. No evaluation of the usefulness of these mechanisms was included to show whether they had been successful. A systemwide special minority search-and-find committee, including two representatives from each TBI and other colleges, was to assist the Board. Each unit in the system was to make its own recruitment effort to fill certain lower-level staff vacancies from counties contiguous to institutions involved and to fill higher-level staff and faculty positions from states contiguous to Georgia, or from other states, should the initial effort fail. Finally, the Regents said they could not make any commitment about increased minority representation on the Board, because it was "a matter over which the Board had no control". It did, however, express the view that two blacks had been appointed in the last six years and that more minorities would be put on the Board as new appointments are made. By a vote of 13-0, the Regents officially adopted the plan at its March 8 meeting. A Savannah State alumni official and several Atlanta Junior College students spoke against the plan at the Board meeting. Uniformed guards and fifteen (15) state troopers were present at the meeting to prevent any violence.

The Regents' plan was received by Secretary Califano, and in the Atlanta Constitution, headlines announced that "HEW and Regents Agree on Integration Plan". Secretary Califano's reply was that "Georgia has made specific and detailed commitments to comply with the criteria for higher education issued during the past year under the court order handed down by the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia." The two black Regents voted for the document, but their reactions varied. For example, Regent Eldridge McMillan said that his

approval was tempered with some misgivings because the report "spends a good deal of time qualifying our commitment and we identify various obstacles which stand in the way of our achieving the goals", while Regent Jesse Hill noted that several areas of the plan "require serious attention," but praised the plan as the boldest action ever taken by the Board to desegregate the system.²²

Public reaction to the March 6 proposal was both immediate and predictable. It came under attack from the white and black communities. Bill Shipp, an editorial writer and columnist for the Atlanta Constitution, condemned the plan, saying it would cause the destruction of quality public higher education in Georgia: "Now, we shall all sit back and watch while it withers, trying to achieve artificial racial goals and graduate black kids who cannot read when they enter college and still can't when they get out ...". Shipp argued that HEW was only interested in numbers and that "nobody said anything about maintaining academic standards". The Constitution's columnist claimed that testing data showed blacks "less equipped" than whites to cope with higher education. To support this assertion, Shipp compared average SAT scores of the TBI's with those of Georgia and Georgia Tech (the two senior universities in the system; not comparable four-year senior colleges) and the large number of blacks enrolled in special studies. Shipp said the setting of arbitrary racial goals was bad, and predicted that it would either cause black student failure and frustration or a lowering of academic standards in the university system.²³

The black critique of the proposal was just as critical, but obviously for different reasons. The study was viewed as a vehicle that would be used to eliminate the TBI's. Dr. Joseph E. Lowery, President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, held a press conference to denounce the Regents' proposal and charged it would lead to the ultimate destruction of the TBI's, because it provided options that would allow the diminution of black colleges. He called for a meeting of concerned Georgians to insist on desegregation procedures that would preserve and protect the integrity and strengthen the unique contributions of the black institutions.²⁴ On March 30, Lowery and four prominent alumni officers from the TBI's

sent a letter on SCLC stationery to several black elected officials, alumni, and community leaders throughout Georgia, as well as administrators and faculty of the TBI's, inviting them to attend a conference on "Concerns for the Continuing Integrity of Black Higher Education" on April 8 in Atlanta. The letter said, "We must develop our own plan and proposal for authentic desegregation, and ensure access to education for all citizens." The letter stated further that the Regents must be persuaded to provide adequate funding of the TBI's to eliminate past inequities and to develop an effective minority recruitment program.

At the April 8 meeting, a task force was created to develop an alternative desegregation plan for the university system. The committee drafted a sixteen-page report which was completed in early July, submitted to HEW, and given to the Board of Regents at its July 12, 1978, meeting. In presenting the plan, the SCLC President expressed the opinion that the Regents' plan would do irreparable damage to blacks and would greatly diminish opportunities for black citizens to receive a college degree. The SCLC president talked about how the integration of elementary and secondary schools caused a phasing-out of black leadership at many levels, and the consequential decrease in meaningful educational opportunities for blacks.²⁵ The SCLC plan contained fifteen major recommendations for desegregation of the university system and enhancement of the TBI's. Among the most important were:

- (1) Restructuring of special studies programs to involve all teachers of freshmen and sophomores so as to remove the stigma attached to the program.
- (2) Compensatory funding for the TBI's.
- (3) Placing of strong academic programs, which would attract students of all races on the campuses of the black colleges.
- (4) Permitting each TBI to retain the ability to offer four-year degree programs and not weaken them through excessive specialization.

- (5) Making the racial composition of the Board of Regents 45 percent black and 55 percent white.
- (6) Employment of an outside agency, chosen with HEW and SCLC approval, to monitor the implementation of the SCLC plan.

The University System Committee of the Georgia House of Representatives responded to the Regents' plan. Its chairperson appointed a special study subcommittee to examine the most volatile of the three situations, i.e., the Savannah State-Armstrong State situation. The subcommittee visited the two campuses in May, 1978, to hold hearings and to have meetings with administrators, faculty, alumni, students and community leaders. The full committee approved the subcommittee's report at a June 29 meeting and submitted it to the Regents on July 24, 1978. The major recommendations for a workable solution to the situation were:

- (1) Retention of the distinct identity of Armstrong State and Savannah State as individual units of the university system, but elimination of duplicative programs by assigning some major ones to each campus.
- (2) Development of a joint ASC-SSC Continuing Education Center.
- (3) Correlation of future physical improvements, with specific programs placed on each campus.
- (4) Adequate funding for special studies programs at each college.
- (5) Granting of university status to the two merged units, should the Board decide on an Armstrong State/Savannah State merger.

IV

**REFINING THE STATE PLAN:
FOCUS ON THE BLACK COLLEGES**

On April 28, 1978, the Chancellor of the Board appointed Community Liaison Committees for the Albany, Fort Valley-Macon and Savannah areas. The purpose of these Committees was to advise the Regents on ways to desegregate the system's black colleges and make specific recommendations about the future of the TBI's. Two non-voting Regents served as co-chairpersons of each Liaison Committee, along with two alumni presidents, two student body presidents, two faculty members, and four lay persons from the community (two black and two white).²⁶ Three work group committees composed of administrative staff and faculty were also appointed from the affected six colleges to examine staff, facilities, program and financial matters relating to the five options cited above.

There was great interest in and a diversity of opinion concerning implementation of the desegregation process. More than 100 speakers made presentations and approximately 1700 attended the public hearings in Albany, Macon-Fort Valley, and Savannah. Many of the persons in attendance had affiliation with the colleges, and most of the speakers were either faculty, students or alumni of the affected institutions. Some believed that the Regents initially ruled out the merger option in the cases of Albany State, Albany Junior College and Fort Valley-Macon Junior College because the institutions had different roles and functions. Thus, most of the controversy was expected to center on an Armstrong State-Savannah State merger possibility.

Savannah State College-Armstrong State College

The Savannah Liaison Committee held six public hearings and three open working sessions in May and June of 1978. Approximately 1,000 people attended, and 73 persons spoke at the meetings. The first meeting lasted more than four hours.²⁷ Perhaps the most important statements were those presented by spokespersons from the Savannah State and Armstrong State faculties, who took completely different sides on the issue of merger. A 35-page report presented by the Savannah State College Faculty Desegregation Committee focused on ways to strengthen and maintain the separate identity of Savannah State through the enrichment of program offerings and facilities. It recommended transferring to Savannah State all duplicate programs in civil engineering technology, electronic engineering technology and mechanical engineering technology, which had been added to the curriculum at nearly 98 percent white Georgia Southern College (Statesboro) in 1973 (the same year the Engineering Council for Professional Development Programs had accredited the Savannah State Programs). The report called for new Bachelor's degree programs in computer science, architectural engineering technology, environmental studies, mass technology, hotel-restaurant management, urban studies, marine biology, and aeronautical engineering technology. The new associate degree programs recommended for Savannah State included bio-medical technology, chemical technology, marine science, criminal justice, computer technology, paraprofessional education and occupational and recreational therapy.

Regarding the status of the college's physical plant, the Savannah State faculty stated that thirteen of the thirty-five buildings making up the campus were more than fifty years old and that ten were built over forty years ago. Most of these structures were in need of repair, contained no elevators, and were inaccessible to the handicapped. The campus had severe flooding problems, unpaved roads and poor landscaping, among other problems. Several million dollars were needed, it was thought, to improve the physical appearance of the college. Finally, it was asserted that Savannah State's student body, which is 15 percent white, against a 31 percent white faculty, made it the most desegregated unit in the entire system.

On the other hand, the Armstrong State Alumni Association spokesman favored continuation and expansion of joint, cooperative programs between the two institutions. However, Armstrong's faculty representative called for "coordinated specialization" of the two units through merger and creation of a new university with a central administration and a vice president for each campus. The spokesperson also expressed the fear that the Regents' refusal to include in their study Georgia Southern College (58 miles from Savannah and one of the most segregated units in the entire system) protected it from the desegregation process. If the duplicative programs at Georgia Southern were not eliminated, it was thought, the white students from the Savannah-Chatham County area would commute to that institution.

The Liaison Committee was unable to reach a consensus on recommending a single option to the Regents. At its initial meeting, the Committee agreed to avoid formal votes upon the conclusion of its deliberations and decided instead to recommend two alternative courses of action for consideration by the Board. Each committee member, except the two Regents, presented a written statement regarding his preferred option at the final meeting on June 26. The recommendations were in three categories:

1. Five favored Option 4 (establishing unique programs at Savannah State and ending duplicative programs at nearby Armstrong State and Georgia Southern) and endorsed the proposal submitted by the Savannah State Faculty Desegregation Committee
2. Three supported some form of merger (Option 1) similar to the form outlined by the Armstrong State faculty representative.
3. Two members recommended Option 5, or a modified version of Option 4, which included incentive programs and financial aid to students who would attend the majority race college.

Among the other general proposals appearing in the report to the Board were:

- (1) Inclusion of long-range needs in the budget for funding programs to achieve desegregation of the system.
- (2) Movement towards identical admissions requirements at Savannah and Armstrong State colleges. (The latter now requires a minimum verbal score of 300 on the SAT, regardless of the combined score.)
- (3) Strengthening of special studies programs.
- (4) Creation of a joint regional Continuing Education Center for Southeast Georgia.
- (5) Encouragement of more cooperative programs, involving students from the two colleges.
- (6) Development of more innovative techniques for recruitment of minority students.
- (7) Achievement of desegregation of faculty and staff with a minimum of disruption in existing employment patterns.
- (8) Establishment of a broad-based monitoring committee from the Savannah area to assist the Regents in implementation of the adopted plan, including perhaps some of the current Liaison Committee members to ensure that interested constituencies are represented.

Albany State College-Albany Junior College Plans

There was a very clear consensus in the two Albany area committees. At the first meeting, the merger option was dismissed after a brief discussion concerning the merger of three public Washington, D.C., colleges into the University of the District

of Columbia, and two private Cleveland, Ohio, colleges into Case Western Reserve University. It was determined that the goals and missions of the two institutions in Albany were completely unrelated and that there was a continuing need for both to exist.

The Albany Liaison Committee held seven meetings between May 10 and June 6. At a final June 7 meeting, it unanimously adopted the 22-page Albany Work Committee's report as its recommendation to the Regents. Option 1 was opposed by the faculty and staff of both colleges; Option 3 (making the junior colleges into lower division branch campuses of the senior colleges) was unacceptable to the Albany Junior College people; Option 4 was not considered a viable alternative (because one institution was a senior college and the other a junior college --unlike the situation in Savannah). The Committee recommended Option 5 (which in this case was a modification of Option 2) and called for two separate schools, with one offering lower-division courses and the other providing upper and graduate-level courses.

The Work Committee cited the separate missions and purposes of the institutions. It pointed out that Albany State was a four-year liberal arts educational institution offering the B.A., B.B.A., B.S., and B.S.N. degrees with responsibilities that included:

- (a) Providing educational experience and opportunities for students beyond the secondary education level;
- (b) Providing academic preparation for professional occupations;
- (c) Providing cultural and social enrichment for students and the community;
- (d) Providing services for academically marginal students to bridge the gap between actual achievement levels and the academic requirements set by the institution.

On the other hand, Albany Junior College was a two-year commuter community college offering the A.A. and A.S. degrees with the primary role of providing:

- (a) Career program opportunities to enter the job market at the technical level with one or two years of college;
- (b) Personal and job-oriented upgrading and updating for adults who wish to attend evening classes, seminars and workshops; and
- (c) High school equivalency programs for drop-outs.

The Albany area Committee recommended a comprehensive, detailed list of program and physical plant improvements for both institutions which, it asserted, would facilitate desegregation in the colleges. Among the significant recommendations were the following:

Fiscal Year 1978-79

- (a) Establishment of a joint administrative-faculty committee appointed by the Board to facilitate implementation of the plan.
- (b) A major program to upgrade Albany State's physical facilities.²⁸
- (c) A mandated faculty exchange program involving 10 percent of the faculty (using the Albany Junior College faculty as the base) who would receive a stipend of \$50 per quarter hour.
- (d) Establishment of a public relations effort to change community attitudes toward the two colleges.

(e) Development of a comprehensive plan to facilitate the transfer of students to Albany State from Albany Junior College. Fifty scholarships at \$1,000 each would be provided to junior college graduates who attend Albany State. One half of the funds would be provided by the Albany Junior College Foundation and the other portion by the Junior College Alumni Association.

(f) Closer coordination of lower and upper-level programs between the two colleges in health sciences, criminal justice, secretarial sciences, data processing and nursing.

(g) Encouragement of joint enrollment and transfer arrangements for professional, allied health, education and business programs.

(h) Mandating Albany State to assume responsibility for the administration of upper and graduate-level off-campus programs within a 60-mile radius of Albany.

(i) Enhancing the two-year career program at Atlanta Junior College in health sciences, business, trade and industrial education, medical records, respiratory therapy, industrial and environmental technology, court reporting, X-ray technology, industrial technology, library technology and retail security.

(j) Placement at Albany State of all new graduate (Masters) programs in elementary, special and early childhood education, business, health and physical education, mathematics, science, music, English and administration and supervision.

Fiscal Year 1979-1980

(a) Establishment of an MBA program and related options.

(b) Addition of a new major in urban planning.

(c) Upgrading "minor programs" to major baccalaureate degrees in criminal justice, gerontology, social welfare and computer science.

Fiscal Year 1980-1981

- (a) Establishment of new majors in journalism and allied health.
- (b) Adding concentrations in technical writing.

Fiscal Year 1981-1982

- (a) Creation of new majors in natural resources, speech pathology and audiology.
- (b) Developing concentrations in recreation and health, physical therapy and corrective therapy.

Fiscal Year 1982-1983

- (a) Setting up M.A. programs in criminal justice, allied health and nursing.
- (b) Building of a joint Performing Arts Center.
- (c) Establishment of a joint continuing education program and environmental laboratories.

The report noted that the two institutions have unique missions and roles which should be performed in an atmosphere of compatibility, not competition, to provide quality education to residents of the Albany area and the rest of the state. Implementation of the recommendations was estimated to cost \$27.2 million. It was thought that implementation would increase non-black enrollment at Albany State by three percent each year over a 5-year period. In conclusion, the Liaison Committee said "neither college should be eliminated".

Fort Valley State-Macon Junior College

The Fort Valley situation was unique for a number of reasons. Firstly, the Regents had been operating under a federal district court-ordered integration plan since 1975. Secondly, Fort Valley State and Macon Junior College were not in the same city; in fact, they were 26 miles apart. Thirdly, Fort Valley was an 1890 land-grant college with a unique mission. Fourthly, there were three different committees involved in the formulation of plans affecting the future of the college.

The Fort Valley-Macon area Liaison Committee held two public hearings to secure community input. The May 11 hearing at Fort Valley attracted twenty-three speakers and 200-250 persons. The second hearing on May 18 drew fifteen speakers and one hundred attendees. In addition, the Committee held five other meetings to discuss reports from the Work Group concerning options and programs that would likely enhance Fort Valley. The Committee recommended that three comprehensive programs be created between 1978-1980: (1) a community life improvement center; (2) an historical administration; and (3) a mass communications major. These would be supplemented by four other programs: computer science; allied health; agricultural mechanization; and agribusiness and production horticulture. The estimated cost of the recommended programs and facilities was placed at \$31.4 million. The Committee explained that these improvements would not solve all of the problems faced by Fort Valley, but would lead to desegregation and increase educational opportunities in the area. Finally, the Committee expressed the belief that the document does not deal in totality with the remaining vestiges of desegregation that are clearly apparent at both institutions.

The Work Group decided at the outset that the first three options were not viable and deserved no further consideration. However, it did divide up into five subcommittees to examine each of the five options. The report agreed that the merger option would cause substantial disruption, but would not bring about desegregation because of the distance separating the two campuses. The differences in the two institutions' histories and missions were cited as additional reasons for voting against

the merger option. Macon Junior College was opened in 1968 to serve a local commuting clientele, and its initial facilities were financed by a bond issue passed in Biff County, the residents of which felt that the Regents were morally obligated to preserve the identity and mission of the college. On the other hand, Fort Valley is an 88-year-old, four-year, residential land-grant institution with a graduate division, the students of which are drawn from the state, the region, and the nation.

The Work Group spent two weeks discussing the other options and made priority recommendations for Fort Valley State in the following program areas:

Education - Enrichment and expansion of the graduate programs in early childhood education, reading, special education and middle school education. Consideration of the addition of a Master of Secondary Education degree in science and agriculture. These programs would strengthen the undergraduate programs in the same areas, as well as attract many white public school teachers.

Agriculture - Increasing the resources available for teaching, research and extension activities involving such programs as wildlife conservation, fishing, horticulture and animal health technology.

Computer Science - Adding this program to the curriculum, and possibly data processing at baccalaureate and associate degree levels. These programs do not presently exist in middle Georgia, but there is a growing demand for them; it is believed they will attract students of both races.

Mass Communications - Creating this new program.

Technical Sciences - Strengthening the programs in electronic engineering, adding a new program in industrial arts, and exploring the feasibility of introducing other technical programs into the curriculum.

Allied Health - Giving serious consideration to introducing a nursing program.

Home Economics - Adding new majors in fashion design and merchandizing, interior design and food science or nutrition.

Counselor Education - Establishing several new human service programs in gerontology, recreational management, offender rehabilitation and psychometrics. These were considered natural extensions of existing programs in school counseling, community mental health and vocational rehabilitation.

Additionally, the Work Committee's Report offered a list of secondary suggestions:

- (1) Allocation of \$100,000 per year for the next 10 years for scholarships to desegregate and attract quality students of both races.
- (2) Studying educationally unnecessary duplicative programs at the other senior college units located in Middle Georgia and considering the possibility of closing some of them to promote integration at Fort Valley.
- (3) Instituting an extensive program of campus beautification and improvements as well as new buildings to house recommended new programs.
- (4) Appointing by the two college presidents of a joint administrative-student-faculty committee to investigate the possibilities of faculty exchange, joint recruitment of faculty and students, curriculum duplication, problems of transfer students and measures to improve cooperation between Fort Valley and Macon Junior College.

The Committee did not prepare cost analyses of its recommendations but expressed the opinion that further study was needed to determine the cost projections of each program and facility.

Finally, a third report was submitted by a special joint three-year-old faculty-staff committee on agriculture that had been created by the Chancellor as part of Georgia's 1975 desegregation plan; it was drafted pursuant to Judge Owen's order to integrate Fort Valley State.²⁹ The membership included persons from the University of Georgia and Fort Valley State. They examined the range of options in agricultural research, extension and residential instruction. This group proposed the creation of a Middle Georgia Agricultural Residential Instruction, Research and Extension Center which would provide practical demonstrations and on-site teaching, and which would assist middle Georgia farmers through research, seminars and workshops. The program would involve close coordination and cooperation with the University of Georgia in research, sharing of experiment station resources, exchange of faculty and graduate students, and others. The purpose of the program was to make Fort Valley "a center of excellence in limited resources, small farm and urban agriculture". It was the view of all three committees that the impact of their recommendations on desegregation would depend primarily on the Board, affected college staff, faculty, students, and the communities involved.

v

MEETING THE FEDERAL TEST: GEORGIA'S RESPONSE
TO HEW'S CRITERIA AND THE OBJECTIVES
OF THE LITIGATION

The final section of this examination focuses on the response (feedback) of the Regents' plan to the specifics of HEW's criteria. After reviewing statements included in the September 1, 1977, plan, this author has concluded that the Regents are not responding positively to the new HEW directives. Even the language of the plan has a tone of defiance and continually asserts that the Board has ultimate responsibility for making all decisions concerning higher education in Georgia, including whether to respond to or abide by HEW requests or directives. One of the statements in the plan which characterized this tone reads as follows:

The fundamental educational decisions implicit in the furtherance of all Georgia's higher education are necessarily the responsibility of the Board of Regents. This responsibility cannot be abdicated in pursuit of externally defined statistical objectives.

Such comments are indicative of the Board's attitude toward how it should respond to the HEW criteria. The plans submitted to date reflect that sentiment.

In order to assess the nature and extent of the deficiencies contained within the Georgia plan, the plan is examined against

HEW criteria. Of paramount interest for this examination, of course, is the assessment of the plan as feedback within the framework chosen for this analysis. Again, the framework calls for testing the plan against three broad categories of the criteria: (1) eradication of the dual system; (2) degrees of institutional student mix; and (3) degree of faculty, administration, staff and governing board mix.⁵⁰

Eradication of the Dual System

Does the plan define the mission of each institution on a basis other than race?

The plan defines the general roles of three types of institutions in the system: university, four-year senior colleges, and junior colleges without reference to race. It also refers to special steps taken to enhance cooperative efforts between the TBI's and the PWI's. The Board indicated that the dispersion of the 32 units of the system had "had a beneficial effect on the desegregation process" by increasing higher education opportunities for all Georgians. HEW apparently did not stress its initial requirement that specific roles and missions be detailed for each institution in the university system.

Does the plan specify steps to strengthen the TBI's?

The Regents made a general commitment to the continued development of the three historically black institutions in the system. Eight new programs submitted by three black colleges are under review by the Board. (Some were first submitted over 3 years ago). It was reported that FTE funding of the black schools is at a much higher rate than for comparable white senior colleges. The Board pledged to improve the physical plants of the TBI's and promised not to use funds for capital improvements which would impede desegregation. The completed study of the TBI's is to include specific goals as well as steps and funding to achieve them.

Does the plan commit the state to eliminate educationally unnecessary program duplication among black and white institutions in the same service area?

A general commitment was made to this criterion. The plan suggests, however, that this is only being done in the case of Armstrong State - Savannah State, involving joint programs, cooperative programs, "discrete degree programs" (programs at one college which are not offered at the other such as engineering technology, home economics, political science, sociology, industrial arts and trade and industrial education, which are offered at Savannah State), and health professions, psychology, public administration, anthropology, Romance languages and speech correction (at Armstrong State). This matter is to be dealt with in the supplemental study on the TBI's to be completed by the end of October, 1978.

Does the plan commit the state to give priority consideration to placing any new undergraduate, graduate or professional degree programs at the three TBI's, consistent with their mission?

This is another matter to be finalized in the study of the predominantly black colleges.

Must the state commit to withhold approval of changes in the operation of the state system or any institutions that may directly or indirectly affect the achievement of desegregation goals prior to their formal adoption?

The plan gives the Vice Chancellor responsibility for assessing such proposals and drafting an impact statement to be sent to HEW prior to making any such changes. It should be noted, however, that the Regents approved the conversion of Kennesaw Junior College to senior college status, effective Fall Quarter, 1978. Under its 1974 plan, the Board of Regents had pledged to submit an advance impact statement to HEW, but did not do so until November 1976 or seven months after the fact: Kennesaw's student body was 98.2 percent white in 1976. A tremendous amount of political pressure had been exerted on the Board by members of the Georgia legislature represent-

ing the Kennesaw College area, particularly the Chairman of the House Appropriations Committee (Rep. Joe Frank Harris), Speaker Pro Tem (Rep. Al Burris), and Rep. J.M. Wilson, member of the five-person "Green Door Committee", which determines budget allocations in the Georgia House of Representatives. These legislators attended the April, 1976 meeting when the change of status for Kennesaw College was voted on. After heated discussions about lack of data and violation of HEW guidelines, the Board voted 11-3 to make Kennesaw a four-year college.³¹

Did the state agree to advise HEW of proposed changes in the mission or character of any institution that may affect achievement of its desegregation goals prior to their formal adoption?

This was not done in 1976, and the Board reported in its 1977 plan that notification to HEW would be limited to major changes, and in all instances decision-making authority would rest with the Board of Regents. In other words, the Board reserved the right to determine whether it would submit a proposed change to HEW before it acted.

Does the plan specify timetables for implementation of actions to achieve goals within five years, unless compelling reasons for a longer period are accepted by HEW?

Specific timetables and goals are included in the plan for desegregation of the institutions.

Does the plan commit the state and all its involved agencies and subdivisions to specific measures to achieve the above objectives?

While the Board of Regents indicated that it is responsible for "public higher education in Georgia, and commits itself to specific actions detailed in various sections of this plan",

it noted that it did not have the authority to commit the governor, legislature or any other agency or political subdivision to the plan.

Degrees of Institutional Student Mix

While HEW criteria require desegregation of student enrollment, educational opportunity for all students, and operation of institutions without regard to race, the Regents indicated that, because theirs was an interim plan, they did not address problems associated with increased higher educational opportunities for all races. In that regard, the plan cited programs that increased black enrollment from 12.2 percent in 1972 to 15.5 percent in 1976, and projected a 21 percent black enrollment by 1982.

The plan states that recruitment policies are common to all institutions and that special studies programs in English, reading, and mathematics, as well as counseling and financial aid, are provided to assist in student retention.

Does the plan adopt the goal for two and four-year colleges that the proportion of black high school graduates in the state who enter the colleges shall be equal to the proportion of white high school graduates who enter such institutions?

The Board suggested that HEW examine this goal in the broad context of all postsecondary institutions, including private colleges, proprietary schools and vocational schools. The plan does mention that the private Atlanta University Center colleges, with their large black student enrollment (a number equal to 50 percent of the total number of blacks enrolled in all the PWI's in Georgia), have affected the system's ability to achieve the student desegregation goals and would continue to do so. The Board has pledged, though, to enhance its plans to attract better prepared minority students.³²

Does the plan adopt the goal of an annual increase in enrollment of black students in traditionally white senior colleges?

The plan projects black undergraduate enrollment at PWI's for each year through 1982-83, but there is no way of ascertaining whether their projections are accurate or realistic, given the changes in the college-going populations.

Does the plan adopt the goal of reducing the disparity between the proportion of black and white high school graduates entering the traditionally white senior colleges and reduce the disparity by 50 percent by 1982-83? (The state is not required to increase by this date student admissions by more than 150 percent above the admissions for 1976-77).

The Board promised to reduce the disparity in "other race" first-year enrollment in the twelve senior colleges and four university-level institutions. The plan states that the guidelines separate the historically black and white institutions in this process, but the federal court order related to Fort Valley State seems to preclude "unevenness in the timing of actions". The Board included 1975-76 data on first-year enrollment at senior colleges and universities that showed 13,512 students (10,387 white and 3,125 black students -- a 77 to 23 ratio). An increase of 1,579 black first-year students in white senior colleges and universities was projected for 1982-83, but a total enrollment increase of 82 white first-year students was projected in the TBI's.

Does the plan set a goal that the proportion of black Georgia residents who graduate from undergraduate colleges in the state system and enter graduate or professional studies shall be at least equal to the proportion of white state residents who graduate and enter such schools? (This also involves separate goals for each major area of graduate and professional study.)

The plan explained that this goal has been met. Blacks received 10 percent of baccalaureate degrees in the system from July 1975 to June 1976, and 11 percent of all graduate and professional degrees awarded. However, most of the undergraduate degrees were awarded in the area of business, education and the social sciences. Percentages of all degrees awarded by race are included in the plan. Increases in minority enrollment and graduation at the white schools (which serve as "feeders" for graduate and professional programs) are believed essential to achieving the goal. Early in 1978, the Board proposed and the legislature approved a \$500,000 scholarship program for economically disadvantaged Georgia students (100 at \$5,000 each) enrolling in graduate or professional programs in the university system. It is estimated that 60 percent of these grants will be awarded to black students.

Does the plan set goals for increasing the total number of white students attending the TBFs? This must be preceded by increasing enrollment of black students at white schools and strengthening of the predominantly black institutions. The specific numerical goals for whites attending black schools should commence on September 1, 1979.

Projections are for an increase from 743 in 1976-77 to 6,310 in 1982-83 in white enrollment at the three black colleges and Atlanta Junior College. (HEW believed white enrollment goal projections were too low in the draft plan and asked that this be deleted from the supplemental document submitted on March 6, 1978.)

Does the state attempt to reduce any disparity between the proportions of black and white students graduating from two-year, four-year and graduate schools, and establish interim goals for achieving annual progress?

The plan states that the goal involves the basic principle of graduation requirements and explains that the attrition rate for blacks is one-third higher than for whites in four-year colleges.

The University System enrollment is 15 percent black, but only 10 percent of the Bachelor's degrees were awarded to blacks. Most of those were awarded in the system's black colleges. The attrition rate is greatly influenced by the level of preparation of entering students (SAT scores are cited) and the colleges' capabilities through regular and remedial programs to assist students in eliminating skill deficiencies and becoming academically competitive.

Does the plan expand mobility between two- and four-year institutions to meet goals?

Although a core curriculum in each junior college permits transfer of two full years of credits to any other college or university in the system, the plan makes no attempt to encourage the development of bridging (i.e., cooperative programs) between two- and four-year colleges.

Does the plan establish timetables for sequential implementation of actions to achieve goals within the next five years (1982-83), except where another date is specified?

Projected actions and enrollment data are included in the plan. Here again, though, arises the question of validity, which is difficult to answer satisfactorily.

Do the state and all its involved agencies and subdivisions commit themselves to specific measures to achieve goals?

The Board only commits itself to specific actions contained in the plan.

Are there degrees of institutional faculty, administration, staff, and governing board mix?

HEW asks the state to commit itself to the goal of increasing the number and proportion of black employees, both academic and non-academic, throughout the system, and of increasing representation by black citizens among appointive positions on the staff and governing board. The plan makes a general commitment to achieve greater desegregation through implementation of the Board's Affirmative Action program adopted at its October, 1975, meeting. The Regents agreed to prevent discrimination in employment and to increase the number of minorities and women in all categories "where their present employment is less than would be expected by their availability in the job market." Each unit of the system has prepared and is responsible for monitoring its own affirmative action plan. If underutilization of women and minorities is found to exist by the President at his unit (as a result of personnel policies or practices which discriminate or result in discrimination because of race, color, religion, national origin or sex), he must establish goals and timetables for steps to correct or eliminate the deficiencies. The Board said the President should not consider a goal or quota and must establish separate specific goals for women and minorities by conducting a work force availability analysis.²³

The Board of Regents' plan did not respond individually or directly to each of the six HEW criteria relating to specific goals or desegregation of faculty, administrative staff and non-academic personnel. Instead, it assigned this key responsibility to the discretion of each of the 32 college presidents and limited its commitment to a reiteration of support of its Affirmative Action policy and expansion of the University System of Georgia's Applicant Clearinghouse (1975). (The Clearinghouse has made minority applicants' files available to any system institution since 1977. It also has had an exchange program with the State University of Florida's Central Applicant Pool and Position Vacancy Listing Service.)

The Governor of Georgia appoints members of the Board of Regents, and the report said recent appointments have been designed to make it more representative (one black member was appointed in 1972 and a second in 1975). However, in May, 1978, Governor George Busbee made four (4) appointments to the Board. He reappointed Jesse Hill, Jr., but appointed

three new whites to the other slots. In order for the Board to reflect the racial population of the state, two more black members should be added to the Board of Regents.

Monitoring the Output

Georgia is required to submit a desegregation plan for public higher education and commit the state to make substantial progress toward each goal in the planning during the first two years. In that regard, the Regents stated that they are committed to: (1) complete elimination of all vestiges of a formerly dual system of public higher education in Georgia which far exceeds the direct or implied mandate of specific legislation or guidelines addressed in this plan; and (2) establish a biracial citizens' advisory/monitoring committee to assist in the implementation of the plan. The Board stated that the "open process" of public involvement in the preparation of the plan "will be preserved and strengthened during the implementation phase". However, there exists no broad-based citizens' committee to monitor the implementation of Georgia's desegregation plan, and the Regents have not made specific commitments to appoint one.

Finally, the Board said its plan was prepared in a short time-frame and represents the most that could be done under severe time constraints. The Regents concluded the report, saying, "It (the plan) should therefore be considered as an interim document subject to further analysis and refinement."

The Plan and Its Impact on Higher Education in the State

The Board of Regents has been engaged in a thorough investigation to determine the future of Georgia's three predominantly black colleges. However, the decision was made early, apparently with the approval of the OCR, to study only the "three pairs" of colleges directly affected by HEW criteria. Obviously, the issue of the duplication of courses/programs among the 12 senior colleges in the three geographical regions that were

discussed in the Regents' May 6 proposal will have to be made before the final program realignment can be made in the TBI's and PWI's. These decisions will apparently have to be made by the Board on staff recommendations concerning program changes for various units.

The Community Liaison Committee made very detailed and somewhat costly program and facility recommendations (the Board's Vice Chancellor estimated that it would cost \$90-100 million to implement them between 1978-1983), but to date the Board has not acted. It appears that a consensus has developed regarding the Armstrong State-Savannah State (Option 4) and Fort Valley State-Macon Junior College (Option 5) situations. There still seems to be a division in the Board regarding Albany State-Albany Junior College. The special five-member Desegregation Plan Drafting Committee has met on numerous occasions to try to hammer out an acceptable plan that will have to be voted on by the full Board at a special meeting. Because of its failure to reach an agreement, the Board of Regents was unable to meet the September 1 deadline for submitting its recommendations to HEW and were granted an extension until October 1. This deadline has come and gone, yet no plan has been forthcoming. It is evident, however, that the badly divided Regents will soon have to make a decision on this matter. It appears that Option 4 or 5 will be the recommendation that the Board will support for action involving the Savannah area.

Unfortunately, the Regents' plan submitted on September 1 does not reflect a new educational philosophy for Georgia, as the roles and missions of the individual units of the university system have remained unchanged. In fact, the September 1 document and the two supplements state in several places that the plan was simply a continuation of the Board's policies to enhance the TBI's and to make higher education more easily accessible to all Georgians. A vigorous effort to implement whatever final plan is adopted can significantly change the racial identifiability of several units in the system and may also impact greatly the private Atlanta University Center Complex. There are more than 7500 students attending institutions in the Center, and a successful recruitment effort may attract a sizeable number of students who would normally attend these undergraduate and graduate institutions. However,

we must await the adoption of a final plan to see what impact there will be in public and private higher education in Georgia.

POSTSCRIPT

On October 20, 1978, the Board submitted to OCR the fourth segment of Georgia's Plan for the Further Desegregation of the University System of Georgia. Part One of this segment called for the merger of Albany State and Albany Junior College. While OCR supported the merger, the Board subsequently rejected a follow-through with the plan. The Board attributed its rejection to mounting community opposition, and because they felt in retrospect that the proposed merger was educationally unsound and would not be in the best interest of the state. OCR, however, has given the Board until January 6, 1979 to develop another plan before it decides whether to initiate enforcement proceedings under Title VI to terminate federal funds to the state.

The planning for the desegregation of public higher education in Georgia has created both dissension and controversy which have negatively affected the Georgia social scene. As a result, the ability of the Regents to exercise good judgment in responding to the demands for desegregation and making sound educational decisions has been thwarted.

Many observers of the desegregation arena feel that because of the uncertainty shrouding the planning process in Georgia, the state will find itself faced with taking legal action against HEW to prevent desegregation from occurring. The Georgia response, therefore, will have to be closely evaluated, not only because of the effect it will have on the future direction of the state's higher education system as it relates to the achievement of educational equity and parity for blacks and other minorities, but also because the state's future actions may negatively impact progress being made by other Adams states attempting to carry out the desegregation mandate.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 OCR's request to the Board emanated from Washington, thus marking a shift from HEW's traditional posture of dealing with states on the desegregation issue directly from Washington rather than through its Atlanta Regional Office.
- 2 Black enrollment in the system's three black colleges for the same period ranged from 96.7% to 99.5%.
- 3 Atlanta Journal, August 10, 1975.
- 4 The terms are staggered so that the terms of only two members expire each year, except that the terms of three members expire at the end of any seven-year period.
- 5 See Hunnicut vs. Burge, 356 F. Supp. 1227.
- 6 The conference program appears in Appendix D.
- 7 Most of these documents are public and can be obtained by writing either The Office for Civil Rights in Washington or the Georgia Board of Regents in Atlanta.
- 8 See Selected Reference section, p. 144.
- 9 See again the assumptions listed in the general introduction.
- 10 The Southern Education Foundation is a philanthropic organization located in Atlanta, Georgia. The Foundation has been active in the Adams litigation. See "Ending Discrimination In Higher Education" published by the Foundation in November, 1974.

- 11 It is interesting to note that Georgia's Board of Regents complained that it had not been consulted during the preparation of HEW's criteria.
- 12 See Plan for the Further Desegregation of the University System of Georgia, September 1, 1977.
- 13 In March 1976, the Board of Regents approved the upgrading of Kennesaw Junior College, one of the most segregated units in the system, to 4-year senior college status effective 1978-79. This took place eight (8) months before the Board submitted the impact statement of HEW. Forty (40) new faculty members were hired by Kennesaw College for the academic year 1978-79, but only one was black.
- 14 This plan contained 92 pages of text and 76 pages of appendices. It was titled, "An Alternative Plan for the Desegregation of The University System of Georgia".
- 15 This figure includes 1,616 students at 96 percent black Atlanta Junior College. Thus, in 1976, 11,046 blacks were enrolled in the PWI's.
- 16 Programs included social work, music, physical education, allied health, engineering technology, home economics, industrial arts. Proposed programs included fine arts, art education, earth science, biology, chemistry, physics, mathematics, computer science and criminal justice.
- 17 In establishing new graduate programs in education and business at the TBI's, the Regents set up "coordinating arrangements" with a PWI such as Georgia State, University of Georgia or Valdosta State. The instructors, facilities and other resources used in teaching the classes and research are located on the black college campuses, but the "coordinating" institution, which normally sends one or two members of its faculty to the college. receives full-time equivalent (FTE) funds for students enrolled in the program up to a period of 4-5 years.
- 18 This statement was made at the initial meeting of the Albany Area Work Group on May 10, 1978.

- 19 Ibid.
- 20 For locations of colleges, see map on p. 90.
- 21 The legislature approved these funds and the program was initiated in 1978-79. The scholarships are \$5,000 each, and it is projected that 60 percent of the recipients will be black and 40 percent white disadvantaged students.
- 22 Atlanta Constitution, March 9, 1978.
- 23 Atlanta Constitution, March 10, 1978.
- 24 Cited in Atlanta Constitution, March 24, 1978.
- 25 Atlanta Constitution, July 13, 1978.
- 26 For a roster of the members see Appendix B, pp.
- 27 The discussion of the Savannah-Armstrong State situation relies heavily on the 490-page Report of the Savannah Area Liaison Committee, July 5, 1978.
- 28 An appendix to the work committee report was titled, "A Rationale for Support of Physical Enhancement of Albany State College." It cited the Board's annual reports on the system which showed the college's physical development had fallen behind schools of similar size in the last 15 years. It ranked 11th of 22 in building funds, and poor planning had made many buildings obsolete before they were completed. A comparison with Georgia Southwestern College in the period January 1, 1967-June 1, 1977, showed \$10,382,277 given to the PWI's for construction and renovation during this decade and \$5,659,931 for Albany State. The document indicated that Albany State was the "Most underfunded unit in the system", even below Savannah and Fort Valley State colleges.
- 29 Report of the Fort Valley State College/University of Georgia - Joint Agricultural Committee on Options for Further Desegregation of Fort Valley State College Agricultural Program, June 30, 1978.

- 30 HEW's new criteria, for purposes of this analysis, were transformed into a series of twenty-four questions. See Appendix A, p. 146.
- 31 The dissenters included Milton Jones, current Chairman of the Board; Eldridge McMillan, one of the two black members (Jessie Hill, the other black member was absent); and David Tysinger, who was not reappointed to the Board when his term expired in 1977.
- 32 The plan does not contain references to successful (or unsuccessful) recruitment techniques. For example, in the effort to recruit black students in Atlanta, the University System placed a recruiting booth at a regional shopping mall located in an area that is 99 percent white.
33. The concept of a work force availability analysis relates to HEW's requirement that the state employ the use of the relevant labor market. The relevant labor market area is defined as the states contiguous to Georgia in faculty and administrative positions and contiguous counties in the case of lower-level staff persons.

SELECTED REFERENCES

A Plan for the Further Desegregation of the University System of Georgia, Fourth Segment: October 19, 1978.

Albany Area Work Group Report on the Further Desegregation of the University System in the Albany Area, June 7, 1978.

The Atlanta Constitution, selected articles, 1974-1978.

The Atlanta Journal, selected articles, 1974-1978.

Elaine Baker (Georgia Black Coalition on Higher Education), Analysis of the University System of Georgia Semi-Annual Progress Report, Number V: January 31, 1977.

Jean Fairfax, Semi-Annual Progress Report, Implementation of A Plan for the Further Desegregation of the University System of Georgia. Report Number III, January 31, 1976.

Implementation of a Plan for the Further Desegregation of the University System of Georgia. Reports Numbers, I, II, III and V.

Georgia Conference on Open Education, An Alternative Plan for the Desegregation of the University System of Georgia, 1977.

Fort Valley-Macon Area Desegregation Liaison Committee Report, July 7, 1978.

Fort Valley-Macon Desegregation Work Group Report, June 29, 1978.

Mack H. Jones, An Analysis of A Plan for the Further Desegregation of the University System of Georgia and Semi-Annual Progress Reports 1, 2, and 3, January 15, 1976, (unpublished).

Report of the Savannah Area Community Liaison Committee,
July, 5, 1978.

Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Desegregation
Plan for the University System of Georgia, 1978.

The System Summary (Official monthly publication of the
University System of Georgia), 1974-1978.

Interviewees:

George Simpson, Chancellor, Board of Regents

Milton Jones, Chairman, Board of Regents

John Hooper, Vice Chancellor

Howard Jordan, Jr., Vice Chancellor for Services

David Tatel, Director, Office for Civil Rights

Eldridge McMillan, Regent

Henry G. Neal, Executive Secretary

George Simpson, Jr., and Charles Oxford, Letter to David
 Tatel, March 8, 1978.

Peter Holmes, Letters to Chancellor George Simpson, March
 27, 1978 and October 19, 1977.

APPENDIX A

- The Criteria -

APPENDIX A

- The Criteria -

1. Does the plan define the mission of each institution within the state system on a basis other than race?
2. Does the plan specify steps to be taken to strengthen the role of traditionally black institutions in the state system?
3. Does the plan commit the state to take specific steps to eliminate educationally unnecessary program duplication among traditionally black and traditionally white institutions in the same service area?
4. Does the plan commit the state to give priority consideration to placing any new undergraduate, graduate or professional degree programs, courses of study, etc., which may be proposed, at traditionally black institutions, consistent with their missions?
5. Does the plan commit the state to withhold approval of any changes in the operation of the state system or of any institutions that may have the effect of thwarting the achievement of its desegregation goals?
6. Does the plan commit the state to advise OCR of proposed major changes in the mission or the character of any institution within the state system which may directly or indirectly affect the achievement of its desegregation goals prior to their formal adoption?
7. Does the plan specify timetables for sequential implementation of the actions necessary to achieve these goals as soon as possible but no later than within five years (by the close of the academic year 1981-82), unless compelling justification for a longer period for compliance is provided to and accepted by the Department?

8. Does the plan commit the state and all its involved agencies and subdivisions to specific measures for achievement of the above objectives?
9. Does the plan adopt the goal that for two-year and four-year undergraduate public higher education institutions in the state system, taken as a whole, the proportion of black high school graduates throughout the state who enter such institutions shall be at least equal to the proportion of white high school graduates throughout the state who enter such institutions?
10. Does the plan adopt the goal that there shall be an annual increase, to be specified by each state system, in the proportion of black students in the traditionally white four-year undergraduate public higher education institutions in the state system taken as a whole and in each such institution?
11. Does the plan adopt the objective of reducing the disparity between the proportion of black high school graduates and the proportion of white high school graduates entering college (for the purposes of this subsection, the term "entering" includes first-time transfers from two-year and other institutions)?
12. Does the plan adopt the goal that the proportion of black state residents who graduate from undergraduate institutions in the state system and enter graduate study of professional schools in the state system shall be at least equal to the proportion of white state residents who graduate from undergraduate institutions in the state system and enter such schools?
13. Does the plan adopt the goal of increasing the total proportion of white students attending traditionally black institutions?

14. Does the plan commit the state to take all reasonable steps to reduce any disparity between the proportion of black and white students completing and graduating from the two-year, four-year and graduate public institutions of higher education, and establish interim goals, to be specified by the state system, for achieving annual progress?
15. Does the plan commit the state to expand mobility between two-year and four-year institutions as a means of meeting the goals set forth in these criteria?
16. Does the plan specify timetables for sequential implementation of actions necessary to achieve these goals as soon as possible but not later than within five years (by the close of the academic year 1981-82) unless another date is specified in this section?
17. Does the plan commit the state and all its involved agencies and subdivisions to specific measures to achieve these goals?
18. Does the plan adopt the goal that the proportion of black faculty and of administrators at each institution and on the staffs of each governing board, or any other state higher education entity, in positions not requiring the doctoral degree, shall at least equal the proportion of black students graduating with master's degrees from institutions within the state system, or the proportion of black individuals with the credentials required for such positions in the relevant labor market area, whichever is greater?
19. Does the plan adopt the goal that the proportion of black faculty and of administrators at each institution and on the staffs of each governing board or any other state higher education entity, in positions requiring the doctoral degree, shall at least equal the proportion of black individuals with the credentials required for such positions in the relevant labor market area?

20. Does the plan adopt the goal that the proportion of black non-academic personnel (by job category) at each institution and on the staffs of each governing board or any other state higher education entity shall at least equal the proportion of black persons in the relevant labor market area?
21. Does the plan assure hereafter and until the foregoing goals are met that for the traditionally white institutions as a whole, the proportion of blacks hired to fill faculty and administrative vacancies shall not be less than the proportion of black individuals with the credentials required for such positions in the relevant labor market area?
22. Does the plan specify timetables for sequential implementation of the action necessary to achieve this objective, including interim benchmarks and goals from which progress toward the objective may be measured?
23. Does the plan commit the state system to taking specific measures to achieve these objectives?
24. Does the plan adopt the goal of increasing the numbers of black persons appointed to systemwide and institutional governing boards and agencies so that these boards may be more representative of the racial population of the state of the area served?

APPENDIX B

**INSTITUTIONS IN THE UNIVERSITY
SYSTEM OF GEORGIA**

APPENDIX B**INSTITUTIONS IN THE UNIVERSITY SYSTEM OF GEORGIA****Graduate Institutions**

Georgia Institute of Technology	Atlanta
Georgia State University	Atlanta
Medical College of Georgia	Augusta
University of Georgia	Athens

Senior Colleges

Albany State College	Albany
Armstrong State College	Savannah
Augusta College	Augusta
Columbus College	Columbus
Fort Valley State College	Fort Valley
Georgia College	Milledgeville
Georgia Southern College	Statesboro
Georgia Southwestern College	Americus

Kennesaw Junior College	Marietta
North Georgia College	Dahlonega
Savannah State College	Savannah
Valdosta State College	Valdosta
West Georgia College	Carrollton

Junior Colleges

Abraham Baldwin Agricultural College	Tifton
Albany Junior College	Albany
Atlanta Junior College	Atlanta
Bainbridge Junior College	Bainbridge
Brunswick Junior College	Brunswick
Clayton Junior College	Morrow
Dalton Junior College	Dalton
Emanuel County Junior College	Swainsboro
Floyd Junior College	Rome
Gainesville Junior College	Gainesville
Gordon Junior College	Barnesville
Macon Junior College	Macon
Middle Georgia College	Cochran
South Georgia College	Douglas
Waycross Junior College	Waycross

APPENDIX C

**BOARD OF REGENTS
COMMUNITY LIAISON COMMITTEE**

APPENDIX C**Board of Regents
Community Liaison Committee****- Fort Valley-Macon -****Regents**

Mr. Rufus B. Coody
Mr. Eldridge W. McMillan

Alumni

Mr. Thomas Dortch, President-Elect,
Fort Valley State College National Alumni Association

Mr. Don F. Arnett, President
Macon Junior College Alumni Association

Students

Mr. Alex Parker, President
Fort Valley State College Student Government Association

Mr. Walter Wolfe, President
Macon Junior College Student Government Association

Faculty

Dr. Donnie D. Bellamy, Chairman
Division of Social Science
Fort Valley State College

Dr. W. Thomas Bass, Associate Professor of Physics
Macon Junior College

Community

Mr. William P. Randall, Macon
Mr. Vernon Colbert, Macon
Mr. R. Lanier Anderson, III, Macon
Mr. William P. Simmons, Macon
Mr. John Harris, Fort Valley
Mr. Durward Gassett, Fort Valley
Mrs. E. L. Green, Fort Valley
Mr. Claybon Edwards, Fort Valley

Savannah

Regents

Mr. Scott Candler, Jr.
Mr. Erwin A. Friedman

Alumni

Mr. Earl F. Brown, Jr., President
Savannah State College National Alumni Association

Mr. Louis Reisman, President-Elect
Armstrong State College Alumni Association

Students

Mr. John H. Opper, Jr., President-Elect
Armstrong State College Student Government Association

Mr. James Smith, President
Savannah State College Student Government Association

Faculty

Dr. Richard Summerville, Head
 Department of Mathematics & Computer Science
 Armstrong State College

Mr. Otis S. Johnson, Assistant Professor
 Division of Social Sciences
 Savannah State College

Community

Mr. Curtis Cooper
 Dr. Irving Victor
 Mr. Ben Tucker
 Mr. Verner E. Kelly

Albany**Regents**

Mr. Charles T. Oxford
 Mr. Milton Jones

Alumni

Mr. Williams Newsome
 Mr. Zeddie Coley, President
 Albany State College National Alumni Association

Mr. Tommy Coleman, President
 Albany Junior College Alumni Association

Students

Mr. Flynn Bridges, President
 Albany Junior College Student Government Association

Mr. James Lervis, President
Albany State College Student Government Association

Faculty

Dr. David G. Hewett, Professor of History
Albany Junior College

Dr. Curtis Williams, Assistant Professor
Department of Speech & Theatre
Albany State College

Community

Mr. Fletcher B. Rollins
Dr. W. Carl Gordon
Mr. Robert B. Langstaff
Mr. J. J. Cordell

APPENDIX D

**REPRESENTATIVES OF BLACK
COALITIONS IN THE ADAMS STATES**

APPENDIX D



NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.
10 Columbus Circle, New York, N.Y. 10019 • (212) 586-8397

REPRESENTATIVES OF BLACK COALITIONS IN THE ADAMS STATES

Meeting with Peter Libassi, General Counsel
Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Room 703-5-A South Portal Building
200 Independence Avenue
Washington, D.C.

Friday, June 10, 1977, 10:00 a.m.

ARKANSAS

Mr. Elijah Coleman, Chairman
Arkansas Ad Hoc Council for Higher Education
Former Trustee, Arkansas State University
Route 4, Box 208A
Pine Bluff, Arkansas 71601

Mrs. Corliss Howard
Member, Board of the Department of Higher Education
1209 East Twin Lakes Drive
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201

FLORIDA

Mrs. Eddie Mae Steward, Chairman
Black Concerned Citizens for Higher Education in Florida
President, Jacksonville Branch of the NAACP
3410 Soutel Drive
Jacksonville, Florida 32219

Lt. Col. Robert Rollins
Assistant to the President
Florida A and M University
Tallahassee, Florida

Mrs. Rosalie H. Washington
University of South Florida
Tampa, Florida

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GEORGIA

Mr. Herman Reese, Chairman
Black Coalition on Higher Education in Georgia
Admissions Officer, Emory University
3845 King Edward Trail
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Honorable Robert Holmes
House of Representatives, State of Georgia
Professor of Political Science, Atlanta University
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Dr. Wiley Bolden, Professor
Department of Educational Foundations, Georgia State University
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Ms. Elaine Baker
Department of Social Welfare, Albany State College
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Albany, Georgia 31705

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Member, Board of Regents for the University System of Georgia
Associate Director
Southern Education Foundation, Inc.
811 Cypress Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

Ms. Lynne Brown
Youth Project Southern Field Director
Consultant, Southern Education Foundation
Post Office Box 42451
Atlanta, Georgia 30311

NORTH CAROLINA

Mr. Lawrence Cooper, Chairman
North Carolina Alumni and Friends Coalition
Star Route Box 23-A
Littleton, North Carolina 27850

Mrs. Eva Clayton
307 West Franklin Street
Post Office Box 236
Warrenton, North Carolina 27589

- 3 -

NORTH CAROLINA (continued)

Mr. Harold Webb
Director of Personnel, State of North Carolina
1509 Tierney Circle
Raleigh, North Carolina 27610

Dr. E. Lavonia Allison, Director
The North Carolina Health Manpower Development Program
Room 201 NCHS Plaza
136 E. Rosemary Street, 322-A
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

OKLAHOMA

Mrs. Jacqueline Newton
Oklahoma Association of Black Personnel in Higher Education
Black Coalition for Education in Oklahoma
Academic Advisor, University of Oklahoma
817 E. Mosier
Norman, Oklahoma

Honorable Hannah Atkins
House of Representatives, State of Oklahoma
Post Office Box 11628
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73111

VIRGINIA

James Ghee, Esq.
Attorney, Prince Edward County
Post Office Box 343
Farmville, Virginia 23901

Mr. Charles Howell
1521 Montrose Avenue
Richmond, Virginia 23222

Mr. William Terry
Executive Vice President
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

CONSULTANT

Mr. Howard Rawlings
Maryland Black Coalition for Higher Education
1502 Sequoia Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland 21215

APPENDIX E

**CONFERENCE PROGRAM: THE FUTURE OF
GEORGIA'S PREDOMINANTLY BLACK COLLEGES**

APPENDIX E

CONFERENCE ON THE FUTURE OF GEORGIA'S PREDOMINANTLY BLACK STATE COLLEGES

Sponsored by
The Georgia Black Coalition on Higher Education
Southern Education Foundation

December 10 and 11, 1976
Paschal's Motor Hotel
830 Martin Luther King Drive, S.W.
Atlanta Georgia

Friday, December 10, 1976

2:00 p.m. - 4:30 p.m.

Opening Session
THE CURRENT STATUS OF
GEORGIA'S BLACK STATE COLLEGES

Presiding: ALEX WILLINGHAM
Department of Political Science
Atlanta University

Presentations: JOHN HOOPER, Vice Chancellor
Board of Regents
University System of Georgia
BOB HOLMES, Chairman
Subcommittee on Predominantly Black State
Colleges, Georgia House of Representatives

Panelists: ELAINE BAKER
Department of Sociology
Albany State College
THOMAS DORTCH
Alumni Association
Fort Valley State College
PRINCE JACKSON, President
Savannah State College

7:30 p.m. - 9:30 p.m.

THE MEANING OF THE ADAMS CASE
FOR BLACK PUBLIC HIGHER EDUCATION

Presiding: DELORES ALDRIDGE
Department of Sociology
Emory University

Welcome: PRINCE F. WILSON, Chairman
Georgia Committee for the Humanities

Presentation: JEAN FAIRFAX, Director
Division of Legal Information and Community
Services, NAACP Legal Defense Fund

Panelists: CHARLES HAYES, President
Albany State College
JOHNNY HILL, Director
Office for the Advancement of Public Negro
Colleges

WILLIAM THOMAS, Regional Director
Office of Civil Rights
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
ELRIDGE MC MILLAN, Associate Director
Souther Education Foundation

9:30 p.m.
Reception

Saterday, December 11, 1976

9:30 a.m. - 12:00 noon

BLACK STATE COLLEGES:
THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Presiding: HAYWOOD STRICKLAND, Director
Academic Administration Program
United Board for College Development
Presentation: ELIAS BLAKE, President
Institute for Services to Education
LOUIS BRYSON, Director
Higher Education Division, Office of Civil
Rights
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
GLORIA BLACKWELL
Department of English
Clark College
C. W. PETTIGREW, President
Fort Valley State College

12:15 p.m.
Group Luncheon

1:30 - p.m. - 4:00 p.m.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS, ROLES, AND RESPONSIBILITIES
OF GEORGIA'S BLACK PUBLIC COLLEGES

Presiding: RON KILPATRICK
Department of Education
Atlanta University
Presentation: MACK H. JONES, Chairman
Department of Political Science
Atlanta University

Panelists: JOHN COCHRAN
Department of Education
Savannah State College
LEONARD HAYNES, Director
CRITA
Institute for Services to Education
OZIAS PEARSON, Director
Student Services Program
United Board for College Development

4:00 p.m. - 4:30 p.m.

Wrap-Up-Session

BOB HOLMES, Conference Director
HERMAN REESE, Convenor
Georgia Black Coalition on Higher Education

Adjournment

This program is financially assisted by the National Endowment for the Humanities through the Committee for the Humanities in Georgia.